H. S. L. B.

NIL ADMIRARI.

A

LETTER

TO

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM.

II.

SOME

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Present State of the Nation.

III.

A

LETTER to Mr. POPE.

By the late Right Honorable

HENRY ST. JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

LONDON,
Printed for A. MILLAR.
MDCCLIII.

A

LETTER

TO

Sir William Windham.

I WAS well enough acquainted with the general character of mankind, and in particular with that of my own countrymen, to expect to be as much out of the minds of the tories during my exile, as if we had never lived and acted together. I depended on being forgot by them; and was far from imagining it poſſible that I ſhould be remembered, only to be condemned loudly by one half of them, and to be tacitly cenſured by the greateſt part of the other

half. As ſoon as I was ſeparated from the pretender and his intereſt, I declared myſelf to be ſo; and I gave directions for writing into England what I judged ſufficient to put my friends on their guard againſt any ſurpriſe concerning an event, which it was their intereſt as well as mine, that they ſhould be very rightly informed about.

As ſoon as the pretender's adherents began to clamor againſt me in this country, and to diſperſe their ſcandal by circular letters every where elſe, I gave directions for writing into England again. Their groundleſs articles of accuſation were refuted, and enough was ſaid to give my friends

friends a general idea of what had happened to me, and at leaſt to make them ſuſpend the fixing any opinion till ſuch time as I ſhould be able to write more fully and plainly to them myſelf. To condemn no perſon unheard is a rule of natural equity, which we ſee rarely violated in Turky, or in the country where I am writing: that it would not be ſo with me in Great Britain, I confeſs that I flattered myſelf. I dwelt ſecurely in this confidence, and gave very little attention to any of thoſe ſcurrilous methods, which were taken about this time to blaſt my reputation. The event of things has ſhewn, that I truſted too much to my own innocence, and to the juſtice of my old friends.

IT was obvious, that the chevalier and the earl of MAR hoped to load me with the imputation of treachery, incapacity, or neglect: it was indifferent to them of which. If they could aſcribe to one of thoſe their not being ſupported from France, they imagined that they ſhould juſtify their precipitate flight from Scotland, which many of their faſteſt friends exclaimed againſt; and that they ſhould varniſh over that original capital fault, the drawing the Highlanders together in arms at the time and in the manner in which it was done.

THE Scotch, who fell at once from all the ſanguine expectations with

with which they had been ſoothed, and who found themſelves reduced to deſpair; were eaſy to be incenſed: they had received no ſupport whatever, and it was natural for them rather to believe that they failed of this ſupport by my fault, than to imagine their general had prevailed on them to riſe in the very point of time when it was impoſſible that they ſhould be ſupported from France, or from any other part of the world. The duke of ORMOND, who had been the bubble of his own popularity, was enough out of humor with the general turn of affairs to be eaſily ſet againſt any particular man. The emiſſaries of this court, whoſe commiſſion was to amuſe, had

A impoſed

impoſed upon him all along; and there were other buſy people who thought to find their account in having him to themſelves. I had never been in his ſecret whilſt we were in England together: and from his firſt coming into France he was either prevailed upon by others, or, which I rather believe, he concurred with others to keep me out of it. The perfect indifference I ſhewed whether I was in it or no, might carry him from acting ſeparately, to act againſt me.

The whole tribe of iriſh and other papiſts were ready to ſeize the firſt opportunity of venting their ſpleen againſt a man, who had conſtantly avoided all inti-

macy with them; who acted in the ſame cauſe, but on a different principle, and who meant no one thing in the world leſs, than raiſing them to the advantages which they expected.

THAT theſe ſeveral perſons, for the reaſons I have mentioned, ſhould join in a cry againſt me, is not very marvellous: the contrary would be ſo to a man who knows them as well as I do. But that the engliſh tories ſhould ſerve as echos to them, nay more, that my character ſhould continue doubtful at beſt amongſt you, when thoſe who firſt propagated the ſlander are become aſhamed of railing without proof, and have dropped the clamor,

this

this I own that I never expected: and I may be allowed to ſay, that as it is an extreme ſurpriſe, ſo it ſhall be a leſſon to me.

THE whigs impeached and attainted me. They went farther —at leaſt, in my way of thinking, that ſtep was more cruel than all the others—by a partial repreſentation of facts, and pieces of facts, put together as it beſt ſuited their purpoſe, and publiſhed to the whole world; they did all that in them lay to expoſe me for a fool, and to brand me for a knave. But then I had deſerved this abundantly at their hands, according to the notions of party-juſtice. The

tories

tories have not indeed impeached nor attainted me; but they have done, and are ſtill doing ſomething very like to that which I took worſe of the whigs, than the impeachment and attainder: and this, after I have ſhewn an inviolable attachment to the ſervice, and almoſt an implicit obedience to the will of the party; when I am actually an out-law, deprived of my honors, ſtripped of my fortune, and cut off from my family and my country, for their ſakes.

SOME of the perſons who have ſeen me here, and with whom I have had the pleaſure to talk of you, may, perhaps, have told

told you, that, far from being oppreſſed by that ſtorm of miſfortunes in which I have been toſſed of late, I bear up againſt it with firmneſs enough, and even with alacrity. It is true, I do ſo: but it is true likewiſe, that the laſt burſt of the cloud has gone near to overwhelm me. From our enemies we expect evil treatment of every ſort, we are prepared for it, we are animated by it, and we ſometimes triumph in it: but when our friends abandon us, when they wound us, and when they take, to do this, an occaſion where we ſtand the moſt in need of their ſupport, and have the beſt title to it, the firmeſt mind finds it hard to reſiſt.

NOTHING

NOTHING kept up my ſpirits when I was firſt reduced to the very circumſtances I now deſcribe, ſo much as the conſideration of the deluſions under which I knew that the tories lay, and the hopes I entertained of being able ſoon to open their eyes, and to juſtify my conduct. I expected that friendſhip, or, if that principle failed, curioſity at leaſt, would move the party to ſend over ſome perſon, from whoſe report they might have both ſides of the queſtion laid before them. Tho this expectation be founded in reaſon; and you want to be informed at leaſt as much as I do to be juſtified, yet I have hitherto flattered my ſelf with it in vain. To repair this misfortune,

fortune, therefore, as far as lies in my power, I reſolve to put into writing the ſum of what I ſhould have ſaid in that caſe. Theſe papers ſhall lie by me till time and accidents produce ſome occaſion of communicating them to you. The true occaſion of doing it, with advantage to the party, will probably be loſt: but they will remain a monument of my juſtification to poſterity. At worſt, if even this fails me, I am ſure of one ſatisfaction in writing them; the ſatisfaction of unburdening my mind to a friend, and of ſtating before an equitable judge the account, as I apprehend it ſtand, between the tories and myſelf. "Quantum humano con-

" ſilio efficere potui, circum-
" ſpectis rebus meis omnibus,
" rationibuſque ſubductis, ſum-
" mam feci cogitationum mea-
" rum omnium, quam tibi, ſi
" potero, breviter exponam."

IT is neceſſary to my deſign that I call to your mind the ſtate of affairs in Britain, from the latter part of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ten, to the beginning of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen, about which time we parted. I go no farther back, becauſe the part which I acted before that time, in the firſt eſſays I made in public affairs, was the part of a tory, and ſo far of a piece with that which

I acted

I acted afterwards. Beſides, the things which preceded this ſpace of time had no immediate influence on thoſe which happened ſince that time; whereas the ſtrange events, which we have ſeen fall out in the king's reign, were owing in a great meaſure to what was done, or neglected to be done, in the laſt four years of the queen's. The memory of theſe events being freſh, I ſhall dwell as little as poſſible upon them. It will be ſufficient that I make a rough ſketch of the face of the court, and of the conduct of the ſeveral parties during that time. Your memory will ſoon furniſh the colors which I ſhall omit to lay, and finiſh up the picture.

FROM

FROM the time at which I left Britain I had not the advantage of acting under the eyes of the party which I ſerved, nor of being able, from time to time, to appeal to their judgment. The groſs of what happened has appeared; but the particular ſteps, which led to thoſe events, have been either concealed or miſrepreſented: concealed from the nature of them, or miſrepreſented by thoſe with whom I never agreed perfectly, except in thinking, that they and I were extremely unfit to continue embarked in the ſame bottom together. It will, therefore, be proper to deſcend, under this head, to a more particular relation.

In the ſummer of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ten the queen was prevailed upon to change her parliament and her miniſtry. The intrigue of the earl of Oxford might facilitate the means, the violent proſecution of Sacheverel, and other unpopular meaſures, might create the occaſion, and encourage her in the reſolution: but the true original cauſe was the perſonal ill uſage which ſhe received in her private life, and in ſome trifling inſtances of the exerciſe of her power; for indulgence in which ſhe would certainly have left the reins of government in thoſe hands, which had held them ever ſince her acceſſion to the throne.

I am

I AM afraid that we came to court in the ſame diſpoſitions as all parties have done; that the principal ſpring of our actions was to have the government of the ſtate in our hands; that our principal views were the conſervation of this power, great employments to ourſelves, and great opportunities of rewarding thoſe who had helped to raiſe us, and of hurting thoſe who ſtood in oppoſition to us. It is however true, that with theſe conſiderations of private and party intereſt there were others intermingled, which had for their object the public good of the nation, at leaſt what we took to be ſuch.

We looked on the political principles, which had generally prevailed in our government from the revolution in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty eight, to be deſtructive of our true intereſt, to have mingled us too much in the affairs of the continent, to tend to the impoveriſhing our people, and to the looſening the bands of our conſtitution in church and ſtate. We ſuppoſed the tory party to be the bulk of the landed intereſt, and to have no contrary influence blended into it's compoſition. We ſuppoſed the whigs to be the remains of a party, formed againſt the ill-deſigns of the court under king CHARLES the ſecond, nurſed up

into

into ſtrength and applied to contrary uſes by king WILLIAM the third, and yet ſtill ſo weak as to lean for ſupport on the preſbyterians and the other ſectaries, on the bank and the other corporations, on the Dutch and the other allies. From hence we judged it to follow, that they had been forced, and muſt continue ſo, to render the national intereſt ſubſervient to the intereſt of thoſe who lent them an additional ſtrength, without which they could never be the prevalent party. The view, therefore, of thoſe amongſt us, who thought in this manner, was to improve the queen's favor to break the body of the whigs, to render their ſupports uſe-

leſs to them, and to fill the employments of the kingdom, down to the meaneſt, with tories. We imagined that ſuch meaſures, joined to the advantages of our numbers and our property, would ſecure us againſt all attempts during her reign; and that we ſhould ſoon become too conſiderable, not to make our terms in all events which might happen afterwards: concerning which, to ſpeak truly, I believe few or none of us had any very ſettled reſolution.

In order to bring theſe purpoſes about, I verily think that the perſecution of diſſenters entered into no man's head. By the

the bills, for preventing occaſional conformity and the growth of ſchiſm, it was hoped that their ſting would be taken away. Theſe bills were thought neceſſary for our party intereſt, and beſides were deemed neither unreaſonable nor unjuſt. The good of ſociety may require, that no perſon ſhould be deprived of the protection of the government on account of his opinions in religious matters; but it does not follow from hence, that men ought to be truſted in any degree with the preſervation of the eſtabliſhment, who muſt, to be conſiſtent with their principles, endeavour the ſubverſion of what is eſtabliſhed. An indulgence to conſcien-

ces, which the prejudice of education and long habits have rendered ſcrupulous, may be agreeable to the rules of good policy and of humanity: yet will it hardly follow from hence, that a government is under any obligation to indulge a tenderneſs of conſcience to come; or to connive at the propagating of theſe prejudices, and at the forming of theſe habits. The evil effect is without remedy, and may therefore deſerve indulgence; but the evil cauſe is to be prevented, and can, therefore, be intitled to none. Beſides this, the bills I am ſpeaking of, rather than to enact any thing new, ſeemed only to enforce the obſervation of antient

tient laws; which had been judged neceſſary for the ſecurity of the church and ſtate, at a time, when the memory of the ruin of both, and of the hands by which that ruin had been wrought, was freſh in the minds of men.

THE bank, the eaſt-india company, and in general the moneyed intereſt, had certainly nothing to apprehend like what they feared, or affected to fear from the tories, an entire ſubverſion of their property. Multitudes of our own party would have been wounded by ſuch a blow. The intention of thoſe, who were the warmeſt, ſeemed to me to go no farther than reſtrain-

reſtraining their influence on the legiſlature, and on matters of ſtate; and finding at a proper ſeaſon means to make them contribute to the ſupport and eaſe of a government, under which they enjoyed advantages ſo much greater than the reſt of their fellow ſubjects. The miſchievous conſequence which had been foreſeen, and foretold too, at the eſtabliſhment of thoſe corporations, appeared viſibly. The country gentlemen were vexed, put to great expences and even baffled by them in their elections: and among the members of every parliament numbers were immediately or indirectly under their influence. The bank had been extrava-

gant

gant enough to pull off the maſk; and, when the queen ſeemed to intend a change in her miniſtry, they had deputed ſome of their members to repreſent againſt it. But that which touched ſenſibly even thoſe who were but little affected by other conſiderations, was the prodigious inequality between the condition of the moneyed men and of the reſt of the nation. The proprietor of the land, and the merchant who brought riches home by the returns of foreign trade, had during two wars borne the whole immenſe load of the national expences; whilſt the lenders of money, who added nothing to the common ſtock, throve by

by the public calamity, and contributed not a mite to the public charge.

As to the allies, I ſaw no difference of opinion among all thoſe who came to the head of affairs at this time. Such of the tories as were in the ſyſtem abovementioned, ſuch of them as deſerted ſoon after from us, and ſuch of the whigs as had upon this occaſion deſerted to us, ſeemed equally convinced of the unreaſonableneſs, and even of the impoſſibility, of continuing the war on the ſame diſproportionate foot. Their univerſal ſenſe was, that we had taken, except the part of the States General, the whole burden

den of the war upon us, and even a proportion of this; while the entire advantage was to accrue to others: that this had appeared very groſly in one thouſand ſeven hundred and nine and one thouſand ſeven hundred and ten, when preliminaries were inſiſted upon, which contained all that the allies, giving the greateſt looſe to their wiſhes, could deſire, and little or nothing on the behalf of Great Britain: that the war, which had been begun for the ſecurity of the allies, was continued for their grandeur; that the ends propoſed, when we engaged in it, might have been anſwered long before, and therefore that the firſt favorable occaſion

caſion ought to be ſeiſed of making peace; which we thought to be the intereſt of our country, and which appeared to all mankind, as well as to us, to be that of our party.

THESE were in general the views of the tories: and for the part I acted in the proſecution of them, as well as of all the meaſures acceſſory to them, I may appeal to mankind. To thoſe, who had the opportunity of looking behind the curtain, I may likewiſe appeal for the difficulties which lay in my way, and for the particular diſcouragements which I met with. A principal load of parliamentary and foreign affairs in their ordinary courſe lay

upon

upon me: the whole negotiation of the peace, and of the troubleſome invidious ſteps preliminary to it, as far as they could be tranſacted at home, were thrown upon me. I continued in the houſe of commons during that important ſeſſion which preceded the peace; and which, by the ſpirit ſhewn through the whole courſe of it, and by the reſolutions taken in it, rendered the concluſion of the treaties practicable. After this I was dragged into the houſe of lords in ſuch a manner; as to make my promotion a puniſhment, not a reward; and was there left to defend the treaties almoſt alone.

It would not have been hard to have forced the earl of Oxford to uſe me better. His good intentions began to be very much doubted of: the truth is, no opinion of his ſincerity had ever taken root in the party; and, which was worſe perhaps for a man in his ſtation, the opinion of his capacity began to fall apace. He was ſo hard puſhed in the houſe of lords in the beginning of one thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve, that he had been forced, in the middle of the ſeſſion, to perſuade the queen to make a promotion of twelve peers at once; which was an unprecedented and invidious meaſure, to be excuſed by nothing but the neceſſity, and hardly

by

by that. In the houſe of commons his credit was low, and my reputation very high. You know the nature of that aſſembly: they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who ſhews them game, and by whoſe halloo they are uſed to be encouraged. The thread of the negotiations, which could not ſtand ſtill a moment without going back, was in my hands: and before another man could have made himſelf maſter of the buſineſs, much time would have been loſt, and great inconveniencies would have followed. Some, who oppoſed the court ſoon after, began to waver then: and if I had not wanted the inclination, I ſhould have wanted no help to do miſ-

chief. I knew the way of quitting my employments and of retiring from court when the ſervice of my party required it: but I could not bring myſelf up to that reſolution, when the conſequence of it muſt have been the breaking my party, and the diſtreſs of the public affairs. I thought my miſtreſs treated me ill: but the ſenſe of that duty which I owed her came in aid of other conſiderations, and prevailed over my reſentment. Theſe ſentiments, indeed, are ſo much out of faſhion, that a man who avows them is in danger of paſſing for a bubble in the world: yet they were, in the conjuncture I ſpeak of, the true motives of my conduct;

duct, and you ſaw me go on as chearfully in the troubleſome and dangerous work aſſigned me, as if I had been under the utmoſt ſatisfaction. I began, indeed, in my heart, to renounce the friendſhip, which till that time I had preſerved inviolable for OXFORD. I was not aware of all his treachery, nor of the baſe and little means which he employed then, and continued to employ afterwards, to ruin me in the opinion of the queen, and every where elſe. I ſaw, however, that he had no friendſhip for any body, and that with reſpect to me, inſtead of having the ability to render that merit, which I endeavoured to acquire, an addition of ſtrength to him-

ſelf, it became the object of his jealouſy, and a reaſon for undermining me. In this temper of mind I went on, till the great work of the peace was conſummated, and the treaty ſigned at Utrecht: after which a new and more melancholy ſcene for the party, as well as for me, opened itſelf.

I AM far from thinking the treaties, or the negotiations which led to them, exempt from faults. Many were made no doubt in both, by thoſe who were concerned in them; by myſelf in the firſt place: and many were owing purely to the oppoſition they met with in every ſtep of their progreſs. I never look back

back on this great event, paſſed as it is, without a ſecret emotion of mind; when I compare the vaſtneſs of the undertaking, and the importance of it's ſucceſs, with the means employed to bring it about, and with thoſe which were employed to traverſe it. To adjuſt the pretenſions and to ſettle the intereſts of ſo many princes and ſtates, as were engaged in the late war, would appear, when conſidered ſimply and without any adventitious difficulty, a work of prodigious extent. But this was not all. Each of our allies thought himſelf entitled to raiſe his demands to the moſt extravagant height. They had been encouraged to this, firſt, by

the engagements which we had entered into with ſeveral of them, with ſome to draw them into the war, with others to prevail on them to continue it; and, ſecondly, by the manner in which we had treated with France in ſeventeen hundred nine and ten. Thoſe who intended to tie the knot of the war as hard, and to render the coming at a peace as impracticable as they could, had found no method ſo effectual as that of leaving every one at liberty to inſiſt on all he could think of, and leaving themſelves at liberty, even if theſe conceſſions ſhould be made, to break the treaty by ulterior demands. That this was the ſecret, I can make no doubt after the confeſſion

feſſion of one of the * plenipo-
tentiaries who tranſacted theſe
matters, and who communicated
to me and to two others of the
queen's miniſters an inſtance of
the duke of MARLBOROUGH's
management at a critical mo-
ment, when the french miniſters
at Gertrudenberg ſeemed inclin-
able to come into an expedient
for explaining the thirty ſeventh
article of the preliminaries, which
could not have been refuſed.
Certain it is, that the king of
FRANCE was at that time in ear-
neſt to execute the article of
PHILIP's abdication: and there-
fore the expedients for adjuſt-
ing what related to this article
would eaſily enough have been

* Buys penſionary of Amſterdam.

found, if on our part there had been a real intention of concluding. But there was no ſuch intention: and the plan of thoſe who meant to prolong the war was eſtabliſhed among the allies, as the plan which ought to be followed whenever a peace came to be treated. The allies imagined that they had a right to obtain at leaſt every thing which had been demanded for them reſpectively: and it was viſible that nothing leſs would content them. Theſe conſiderations ſet the vaſtneſs of the undertaking in a ſufficient light.

THE importance of ſucceeding, in the work of the peace, was equally

equally great, to Europe, to our country, to our party, to our perſons, to the preſent age, and to future generations. But I need not take pains to prove what no man will deny. The means employed to bring it about were in no degree proportionable. A few men, ſome of whom had never been concerned in buſineſs of this kind before, and moſt of whom put their hands for a long time to it faintly and timorouſly, were the inſtruments of it. The miniſter who was at their head ſhewed himſelf every day incapable of that attention, that method, that comprehenſion of different matters, which the firſt poſt in ſuch a government as

ours

ours requires in quiet times. He was the firſt ſpring of all our motion by his credit with the queen, and his concurrence was neceſſary to every thing we did by his rank in the ſtate: and yet this man ſeemed to be ſometimes aſleep, and ſometimes at play. He neglected the thread of buſineſs; which was carried on for this reaſon with leſs diſpatch and leſs advantage in the proper channels: and he kept none in his own hands. He negotiated, indeed, by fits and ſtarts, by little tools, and indirect ways: and thus his activity became as hurtful as his indolence; of which I could produce ſome remarkable inſtances. No good effect could flow from ſuch a conduct.

conduct. In a word, when this great affair was once engaged, the zeal of particular men in their ſeveral provinces drove it forward, tho they were not backed by the concurrent force of the whole adminiſtration, nor had the common helps of advice till it was too late, till the very end of the negotiations; even in matters, ſuch as that of commerce, which they could not be ſuppoſed to underſtand. That this is a true account of the means uſed to arrive at the peace, and a true character of that adminiſtration in general, I believe the whole cabinet council of that time will bear me witneſs. Sure I am, that moſt of them have joined with me in lamenting this

ſtate

ſtate of things whilſt it ſubſiſted, and all thoſe who were employed as miniſters in the ſeveral parts of the treaty felt ſufficiently the difficulties which this ſtrange management often reduced them to. I am confident they have not forgot them.

If the means employed to bring the peace about were feeble, and in one reſpect contemptible, thoſe employed to break the negotiation were ſtrong and formidable. As ſoon as the firſt ſuſpicion of a treaty's being on foot crept abroad into the world, the whole alliance united with a powerful party in the nation to obſtruct it. From that hour to the moment the congreſs of Utrecht

trecht finished; no one measure poſſible to be taken was omitted to traverſe every advance that was made in this work, to intimidate, to allure, to embarraſs every perſon concerned in it. This was done without any regard either to decency or good policy: and from hence it ſoon followed, that paſſion and humor mingled themſelves on each ſide. A great part of what we did for the peace, and of what others did againſt it, can be accounted for on no other principle. The allies were broke among themſelves before they began to treat with the common enemy. The matter did not mend in the courſe of the treaty: and France and Spain, but

but eſpecially the former, profited of this diſunion.

WHOEVER makes the compariſon, which I have touched upon, will ſee the true reaſons which rendered the peace leſs anſwerable to the ſucceſs of the war, than it might, and than it ought to have been. Judgment has been paſſed in this caſe, as the different paſſions or intereſts of men have inſpired them. But the real cauſe lay in the conſtitution of our miniſtry, and much more in the obſtinate oppoſition which we met with from the whigs and from the allies. However, ſure it is, that the defects of the peace did not occaſion the deſertions from

the

the tory party, which happened about this time, nor thoſe diſorders in the court which immediately followed.

LONG before the purport of the treaties could be known, thoſe whigs, who had ſet out with us in ſeventeen hundred and ten, began to relapſe back to their party. They had amongſt us ſhared the harveſt of a new miniſtry, and like prudent perſons they took meaſures in time to have their ſhare in that of a new government.

THE whimſical or the hanover tories continued zealous in appearance with us, till the peace was ſigned. I ſaw no people

ſo

ſo eager for the concluſion of it. Some of them * were in ſuch haſte, that they thought any peace preferable to the leaſt delay, and omitted no inſtances to quicken their friends who were actors in it. As ſoon as the treaties were perfected and laid before the parliament, the ſcheme of theſe gentlemen began to diſcloſe itſelf entirely. Their love of the peace, like other paſſions, cooled by enjoyment. They grew nice about the conſtruction of the articles, could come up to no direct approbation, and, being let into the ſecret of what was to happen, would not preclude themſelves from the glorious advan-

* HANMER's letter

tage of rising on the ruins of their friends and of their party.

THE danger of the ſucceſſion, and the badneſs of the peace, were the two principles on which we were attacked. On the firſt, the whimſical tories joined the whigs, and declared directly againſt their party. Altho nothing is more certain than this truth, that there was at that time no formed deſign in the party, whatever views ſome particular men might have, againſt his majeſty's acceſſion to the throne. On the latter, and moſt other points, they affected a moſt glorious neutrality.

INSTEAD of gathering ſtrength,

either as a miniſtry or as a par-
ty; we grew weaker every day.
The peace had been judged with
reaſon to be the only ſolid foun-
dation whereupon we could erect
a tory ſyſtem: and yet when it
was made we found ourſelves
at a full ſtand. Nay the very
work, which ought to have
been the baſis of our ſtrength,
was in part demoliſhed before
our eyes, and we were ſtoned
with the ruins of it. Whilſt
this was doing, OXFORD look-
ed on, as if he had not been a
party to all which had paſſed:
broke now and then a jeſt, which
favoured of the inns of court
and the bad company in which
he had been bred: and on thoſe
occaſions, where his ſtation obli-
ged

ged him to ſpeak of buſineſs, was abſolutely unintelligible.

WHETHER this man ever had any determined view beſides that of raiſing his family is, I believe, a problematical queſtion in the world. My opinion is, that he never had any other. The conduct of a miniſter, who propoſes to himſelf a great and noble object, and who purſues it ſteddily, may ſeem for a while a riddle to the world; eſpecially in a government like ours, where numbers of men, different in their characters, and different in their intereſts, are at all times to be managed; where public affairs are expoſed to more accidents and greater hazards than

in other countries; and where, by conſequence, he who is at the head of buſineſs will find himſelf often diſtracted by meaſures which have no relation to his purpoſe, and obliged to bend himſelf to things which are in ſome degree contrary to his main deſign. The ocean which environs us is an emblem of our government: and the pilot and the miniſter are in ſimilar circumſtances. It ſeldom happens that either of them can ſteer a direct courſe, and they both arrive at their port by means which frequently ſeem to carry them from it. But as the work advances, the conduct of him who leads it on with real abilities clears up, the appearing incon-

ſiſtencies are reconciled, and when it is once conſummated, the whole ſhews itſelf ſo uniform, ſo plain, and ſo natural, that every dabler in politics will be apt to think he could have done the ſame. But on the other hand, a man who propoſes no ſuch object, who ſubſtitutes artifice in the place of ability, who, inſtead of leading parties, and governing accidents, is eternally agitated backwards and forwards by both, who begins every day ſomething new, and carries nothing on to perfection, may impoſe a while on the world: but a little ſooner or a little later the myſtery will be revealed, and nothing will be found to be couched under it but a thread

of pitiful expedients, the ultimate end of which never extended farther than living from day to day. Which of theſe pictures reſembles OXFORD moſt, you will determine. I am ſorry to be obliged to name him ſo often; but how is it poſſible to do otherwiſe while I am ſpeaking of times wherein the whole turn of affairs depended on his motions and character?

I HAVE heard, and I believe truly, that when he returned to Windſor in the autumn of ſeventeen hundred and thirteen, after the marriage of his ſon, he preſſed extremely to have him created duke of Newcaſtle or earl of Clare: and the queen preſuming

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ing to heſitate on ſo extraordinary a propoſal, he reſented this heſitation in a manner which little became a man who had been ſo lately raiſed by the profuſion of her favors upon him. Certain it is, that he began then to ſhew a ſtill greater remiſſneſs in all parts of his miniſtry, and to affect to ſay, that from ſuch a time, the very time I am ſpeaking of, he took no ſhare in the direction of affairs, or words to that effect.

He pretended to have diſcovered intrigues which were ſet on foot againſt him, and particularly he complained of the advantage which was taken of his abſence, during the journey he

made at his ſon's marriage, to undermine him with the queen. He is naturally inclined to believe the worſt; which I take to be a certain mark of a mean ſpirit and a wicked ſoul: at leaſt I am ſure that the contrary quality, when it is not due to weakneſs of underſtanding, is the fruit of a generous temper, and an honeſt heart. Prone to judge ill of all mankind, he will rarely be ſeduced by his credulity; but I never knew a man ſo capable of being the bubble of his diſtruſt and jealouſy. He was ſo in this caſe, altho the queen, who could not be ignorant of the truth, ſaid enough to undeceive him. But to be undeceived, and to own himſelf ſo, was

not

not his play. He hoped by cunning to varniſh over his want of faith and of ability. He was deſirous to make the world impute the extraordinary part, or, to ſpeak more properly, the no part, which he acted with the ſtaff of treaſurer in his hand, to the queen's withdrawing her favor from him, and to his friends abandoning him: pretences utterly groundleſs when he firſt made them, and which he brought to be real at laſt. Even the winter before the queen's death, when his credit began to wain apace, he might have regained it; he might have reconciled himſelf perfectly with all his antient friends, and have acquired the confidence of the whole

whole party. I ſay, he might have done all this; becauſe I am perſuaded that none of thoſe I have named were ſo convinced of his perfidy, ſo jaded with his yoke, or, ſo much piqued perſonally againſt him, as I was: and yet if he would have exerted himſelf in concert with us, to improve the few advantages which were left us, and to ward off the viſible danger which threatened our perſons and our party, I would have ſtifled my private animoſity, and would have acted under him with as much zeal as ever. But he was uncapable of taking ſuch a turn. The ſum of all his policy had been to amuſe the whigs, the tories, and the jacobites, as

long

long as he could, and to keep his power as long as he amuſed them. When it became impoſſible to amuſe mankind any longer, he appeared plainly at the end of his line.

By a ſecret correſpondence with the late earl of Halifax, and by the intrigues of his brother, and other fanatical relations, he had endeavoured to keep ſome hold on the whigs.

The tories were attached to him at firſt by the heat of a revolution in the miniſtry, by their hatred of the people who were diſcarded, and by the fond hopes which it is eaſy to give at the ſetting out of a new adminiſtration.

tion. Afterwards he held out the peace in proſpect to them, and to the jacobites, ſeparately, as an event which muſt be brought about before he could effectually ſerve either. You cannot have forgot how things which we preſſed were put off, upon every occaſion, till the peace: the peace was to be the date of a new adminiſtration, and the period at which the millenary year of toryiſm ſhould begin. Thus were the tories at that time amuſed: and ſince my exile I have had the opportunity of knowing certainly and circumſtantially that the jacobites were treated in the ſame manner, and that the pretender was made, through the french miniſter, to expect that

meaſures

meaſures ſhould be taken for his reſtoration, as ſoon as the peace had rendered them practicable. He was to attempt nothing, his partiſans were to lie ſtill, OXFORD undertook for all.

AFTER many delays, fatal to the general intereſt of Europe, this peace was ſigned: and the only conſiderable thing which he brought about afterwards was the marriage I have mentioned above; and by it an acceſſion of riches and honor to a family, whoſe eſtate was very mean, and whoſe illuſtration before this time I never met with any where, but in the vain diſcourſes which he uſed to hold over claret. If he kept his word with any of

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the parties abovementioned, it muſt be ſuppoſed that he did ſo with the whigs; for as to us, we ſaw nothing after the peace but increaſe of mortification and nearer approaches to ruin. Not a ſtep was made towards completing the ſettlement of Europe, which the treaties of Utrecht and Radſtat left imperfect; towards fortifying and eſtabliſhing the tory party; towards ſecuring thoſe, who had been the principal actors in this adminiſtration, againſt future events. We had proceeded in a confidence that theſe things ſhould immediately follow the concluſion of the peace: he had never, I dare ſwear, entertained a thought concerning them. As ſoon as the laſt hand was

given to the fortune of his family, he abandoned his miſtreſs, his friends, and his party, who had bore him ſo many years on their ſhoulders: and I was preſent when this want of faith was reproached him in the plaineſt and ſtrongeſt terms by one of the honeſteſt.* men in Britain, and before ſome of the moſt † conſiderable tories. Even his impudence failed him on this occaſion: he did not ſo much as attempt an excuſe.

He could not keep his word which he had given the pretender and his adherents, becauſe he

* Lord Trevor.

† Duke of Ormond, lord Anglesey, lord Harcourt, and myſelf, in Oxford's lodgings in St. James's houſe.

had

had formed no party to ſupport him in ſuch a deſign. He was ſure of having the whigs againſt him if he made the attempt, and he was not ſure of having the tories for him.

In this ſtate of confuſion and diſtreſs, to which he had reduced himſelf and us, you remember the part he acted. He was the ſpy of the whigs, and voted with us in the morning againſt thoſe very queſtions which he had penned the night before with Walpole, and others. —— He kept his poſt on terms which no man but he would have held it on, neither ſubmitting to the queen, nor complying with his friends. He would not, or he

could

could not act with us; and he reſolved that we ſhould not act without him, as long as he could hinder it. The queen's health was very precarious, and at her death he hoped by theſe means to deliver us up, bound as it were hand and foot, to our adverſaries. On the foundation of this merit he flattered himſelf that he had gained ſome of the whigs, and ſoftened at leaſt the reſt of the party to him. By his ſecret negotiations at Hanover, he took it for granted, that he was not only reconciled to that court, but that he ſhould, under his preſent majeſty's reign, have as much credit as he had enjoyed under that of the queen. He was weak enough to boaſt of

this, and to promiſe his good offices voluntarily to ſeveral: for no man was weak enough to think them worth being ſolicited. In a word, you muſt have heard that he anſwered to lord DARTMOUTH and to Mr. BROMLEY, that one ſhould keep the privy ſeal, and the other the ſeals of ſecretary; and that lord COWPER makes no ſcruple of telling how he came to offer him the ſeals of chancellor. When the king arrived, he went to Greenwich with an affectation of pomp and of favor. Againſt his ſuſpicious character, he was once in his life the bubble of his credulity: and this deluſion betrayed him into a puniſhment, more ſevere in my ſenſe than all which

has happened to him ſince, or than perpetual exile; he was affronted in the manner in which he was preſented to the king. The meaneſt ſubject would have been received with goodneſs, the moſt obnoxious with an air of indifference; but he was received with the moſt diſtinguiſhing contempt. This treatment he had in the face of the nation. The king began his reign, in this inſtance, with puniſhing the ingratitude, the perfidy, the inſolence, which had been ſhewn to his predeceſſor. OXFORD fled from court covered with ſhame, the object of the deriſion of the whigs, and of the indignation of the tories.

THE queen might, if ſhe had pleaſed, have ſaved herſelf from all thoſe mortifications ſhe met with during the laſt months of her reign, and her ſervants and the tory party from thoſe misfortunes which they endured during the ſame time; perhaps from thoſe which they have fallen into ſince her death. When ſhe found that the peace, from the concluſion of which ſhe expected eaſe and quiet, brought ſtill greater trouble upon her; when ſhe ſaw the weakneſs of her government, and the confuſion of her affairs increaſe every day; when ſhe ſaw her firſt miniſter bewildered and unable to extricate himſelf or her; in fine, when the negligence of

his

his public conduct, and the ſaucineſs of his private behaviour had rendered him inſupportable to her, and ſhe took the reſolution of laying him aſide, there was a ſtrength ſtill remaining ſufficient to have ſupported her government, to have fulfilled in great part the expectations of the tories, and to have conſtituted both them and the miniſters in ſuch a ſituation as would have left them little to apprehend. Some deſigns were indeed on foot which might have produced very great diſorders: OXFORD's conduct had given much occaſion to them, and with the terror of them he endeavoured to intimidate the queen. But expedients were

not hard to be found, by which thoſe deſigns might have been nipped in the bud, or elſe by which the perſons who promoted them might have been induced to lay them aſide. But that fatal irreſolution inherent to the Stuart race hung upon her. She felt too much inward reſentment to be able to conceal his diſgrace from him: yet after he had made this diſcovery, ſhe continued to truſt all her power in his hands.

No people ever were in ſuch a condition as ours continued to be from the autumn of one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen, to the ſummer following. The queen's health ſunk every day.

The

The attack which ſhe had in the winter at Windſor ſerved as a warning both to thoſe who wiſhed, and to thoſe who feared her death, to expect it. The party which oppoſed the court had been continually gaining ſtrength by the weakneſs of our adminiſtration: and at this time their numbers were vaſtly encreaſed, and their ſpirit was raiſed by the near proſpect of the ſucceſſion taking place. We were not at liberty to exert the ſtrength we had. We ſaw our danger, and many of us ſaw the true means of avoiding it: but whilſt the magic wand was in the ſame hands, this knowledge ſerved only to increaſe our uneaſineſs; and, whether we would or no,

we were forced with our eyes open to walk on towards the precipice. Every moment we became leſs able, if the queen lived, to ſupport her government; if ſhe died, to ſecure ourſelves. One ſide was united in a common view, and acted upon an uniform plan: the other had really none at all. We knew that we were out of favor at the court of Hanover, that we were repreſented there as jacobites, and that the elector, his preſent majeſty, had been rendered publicly a party to that oppoſition, in ſpight of which we made the peace: and yet we neither had taken, nor could take in our preſent circumſtances, any meaſures to be better or

worſe there. Thus we languiſhed till the twenty ſeventh of July one thouſand ſeven hundred and fourteen, when the queen diſmiſſed the treaſurer. On the friday following, ſhe fell into an apoplexy, and died on ſunday the firſt of Auguſt.

You do me, I dare ſay, the juſtice to believe, that whilſt this ſtate of things laſted I ſaw very well, how little mention ſoever I might make of it at the time, that no man in the miniſtry, or in the party, was ſo much expoſed as my ſelf. I could expect no quarter from the whigs, for I had deſerved none. There were perſons amongſt them for whom I had great

great eſteem and friendſhip; yet neither with theſe, nor with any others, had I preſerved a ſecret correſpondence, which might be of uſe to me in the day of diſtreſs: and beſides the general character of my party, I knew that particular prejudices were entertained againſt me at Hanover. The whigs wanted nothing but an opportunity of attacking the peace, and it could hardly be imagined that they would ſtop there. In which caſe, I knew that they could have hold on no man ſo much as myſelf: the inſtructions, the orders, the memorials had been drawn by me, the correſpondence relating to it in France, and every where elſe, had been carried on by me;

in

in a word, my hand appeared to almoſt every paper which had been writ in the whole courſe of the negotiation. To all theſe conſiderations I added that of the weight of perſonal reſentment, which I had created againſt myſelf at home and abroad: in part unavoidably by the ſhare I was obliged to take in theſe affairs; and in part, if you will, unneceſſarily by the warmth of my temper, and by ſome unguarded expreſſions, for which I have no excuſe to make, but that which TACITUS makes for his father-in-law, JULIUS AGRICOLA: "honeſtius putabam offendere, quam odiſſe."

HAVING this proſpect of being

ing diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of my party, in the common calamity, by ſeverer treatment, I might have juſtified myſelf, by reaſon and by great authorities too, if I had made early proviſion, at leaſt to be ſafe, when I ſhould be no longer uſeful. How I could have ſecured this point I do not think fit to explain: but certain it is that I made no one ſtep towards it. I reſolved not to abandon my party by turning whig, or, which is worſe a great deal, whimſical; nor to treat ſeparately from it. I reſolved to keep myſelf at liberty to act on a tory bottom. If the queen diſgraced OXFORD and continued to live afterwards, I knew we ſhould

have

have time and means to provide for our future ſafety: if the queen died and left us in the ſame unfortunate circumſtances, I expected to ſuffer for and with the tories; and I was prepared for it.

THE thunder had long grumbled in the air; and yet when the bolt fell, moſt of our party appeared as much ſurpriſed as if they had had no reaſon to expect it. There was a perfect calm and univerſal ſubmiſſion through the whole kingdom. The chevalier indeed ſet out as if his deſign had been to gain the coaſt and to embark for Great Britain; and the court of France made a merit to them-

ſelves of ſtopping him and obliging him to return. But this, to my certain knowledge, was a farce acted by concert, to keep up an opinion of his character, when all opinion of his cauſe ſeemed to be at an end. He owned this concert to me at Bar, on the occaſion of my telling him that he would have found no party ready to receive him, and that the enterpriſe would have been to the laſt degree extravagant. He was at this time far from having any encouragement: no party, numerous enough to make the leaſt diſturbance, was formed in his favor. On the king's arrival the ſtorm aroſe. The menaces of the whigs, backed by ſome ve-

ry raſh declarations, by little circumſtances of humor which frequently offend more than real injuries, and by the entire change of all the perſons in employment, blew up the coals.

At firſt many of the tories had been made to entertain ſome faint hopes that they would be permitted to live in quiet. I have been aſſured that the king left Hanover in that reſolution. Happy had it been for him and for us if he had continued in it; if the moderation of his temper had not been overborne by the violence of party; and his and the national intereſt ſacrificed to the paſſions of a few. Others there were among the tories who had

had flattered themſelves with much greater expectations than theſe, and who had depended, not on ſuch imaginary favor and dangerous advancement as was offered them afterwards, but on real credit and ſubſtantial power under the new government. Such impreſſions on the minds of men had rendered the two houſes of parliament, which were then ſitting, as good courtiers to king GEORGE, as ever they had been to queen ANNE. But all theſe hopes being at once and with violence extinguiſhed; deſpair ſucceeded in their room.

OUR party began ſoon to act like men delivered over to their paſſions,

paſſions, and unguided by any other principle; not like men fired by a juſt reſentment and a reaſonable ambition to a bold undertaking. They treated the government like men who were reſolved not to live under it: and yet they took no one meaſure to ſupport themſelves againſt it. They expreſſed, without reſerve or circumſpection, an eagerneſs to join in any attempt againſt the eſtabliſhment which they had received and confirmed, and which many of them had courted but a few weeks before: and yet in the midſt of all this bravery, when the election of the new parliament came on, ſome of theſe very men acted with the coolneſs of

thoſe who are much better diſpoſed to compound than to take arms.

THE body of the tories being in this temper, it is not to be wondered at, if they heated one another, and begân apace to turn their eyes towards the pretender: and if thoſe few, who had already engaged with him, applied themſelves to improve the conjuncture, and endeavoured to liſt a party for him.

I WENT, about a month after the queen's death, as ſoon as the ſeals were taken from me, into the country; and whilſt I continued there, I felt the general diſpoſition to jacobitiſm in-

creaſe daily among people of all ranks; among ſeveral who had been conſtantly diſtinguiſhed by their averſion to that cauſe. But at my return to London in the month of February or March one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen, a few weeks before I left England, I began for the firſt time in my whole life to perceive theſe general diſpoſitions ripen into reſolutions, and to obſerve ſome regular workings among many of our principal friends, which denoted a ſcheme of this kind. Theſe workings, indeed, were very faint; for the perſons concerned in carrying them on did not think it ſafe to ſpeak too plainly to men, who were, in truth, ill diſpoſed to

the government, becauſe they neither found their account at preſent under it, nor had been managed with art enough to leave them hopes of finding it hereafter; but who at the ſame time had not the leaſt affection for the pretender's perſon, nor any principle favorable to his intereſt.

THIS was the ſtate of things when the new parliament, which his majeſty had called, aſſembled. A great majority of the elections had gone in favor of the whigs; to which the want of concert among the tories had contributed as much, as the vigor of that party, and the influence of the new government

The whigs came to the opening of this parliament full of as much violence as could poſſeſs men who expected to make their court, to confirm themſelves in power, and to gratify their reſentments by the ſame meaſures. I have heard that it was a diſpute among the miniſters, how far this ſpirit ſhould be indulged; and that the king was determined, or confirmed in a determination, to conſent to the proſecutions, and to give the reins to the party, by the repreſentations that were made to him; that great difficulties would ariſe in the conduct of the ſeſſion if the court ſhould appear inclined to check this ſpirit, and by Mr. W—'s under-

taking to carry all the buſineſs ſucceſsfully through the houſe of commons if they were at liberty. Such has often been the unhappy fate of our princes: a real neceſſity ſometimes, and ſometimes a ſeeming one, has forced them to compound with a part of the nation at the expence of the whole; and the ſucceſs of their buſineſs for one year has been purchaſed at the price of public diſorder for many.

THE conjuncture I am ſpeaking of affords a memorable inſtance of this truth. If milder meaſures had been purſued, certain it is, that the tories had never *univerſally embraced jacobitiſm. The violence of the

whigs forced them into the arms of the pretender. The court and the party ſeemed to vie with one another which ſhould go the greateſt lengths in ſeverity: and the miniſters, whoſe true intereſt it muſt at all times be to calm the minds of men, and who ought never to ſet the examples of extraordinary inquiries or extraordinary accuſations, were upon this occaſion the tribunes of the people.

THE council of regency, which began to ſit as ſoon as the queen died, acted like a council of the holy office. Whoever looked on the face of the nation ſaw every thing quiet; not one of thoſe ſymptoms appearing which

muſt have ſhewn themſelves more or leſs at that moment, if, in reality, there had been any meaſures taken during the former reign to defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion. His majeſty aſcended the throne with as little contradiction and as little trouble, as ever a ſon ſucceeded a father in the poſſeſſion of a private patrimony. But he, who had the opportunity, which I had till my diſmiſſion, of ſeeing a great part of what paſſed in that council, would have thought that there had been an oppoſition actually formed, that the new eſtabliſhment was attacked openly from without, and betrayed from within.

THE ſame diſpoſition continued after the king's arrival. This political inquiſition went on with all the eagerneſs imaginable in ſeiſing of papers, in ranſacking the queen's cloſet, and examining even her private letters. The whigs had clamored loudly, and affirmed in the face of the world, that the nation had been ſold to France, to Spain, to the pretender: and whilſt they endeavoured in vain, by very ſingular methods, to find ſome color to juſtify what they had advanced without proof, they put themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of grounding the moſt ſolemn proſecution on things, whereof they might indeed have proof, but

which

which would never paſs for crimes before any judges, but ſuch as were parties at the ſame time.

In the king's firſt ſpeech from the throne, all the inflaming hints were given, and all the methods of violence were chalked out to the two houſes. The firſt ſteps in both were perfectly anſwerable: and, to the ſhame of the peerage be it ſpoken, I ſaw at that time ſeveral lords concur to condemn, in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former parliament by many particular reſolutions. Among ſeveral bloody reſolutions propoſed and agitated at this time, the reſolution

of

of impeaching me of high treaſon was taken: and I took that of leaving England, not in a panic terror improved by the artifices of the duke of MARLBOROUGH, whom I knew even at that time too well to act by his advice or information in any caſe, but on ſuch grounds as the proceedings which ſoon followed ſufficiently juſtified, and as I have never repented building upon. Thoſe who blamed it in the firſt heat were ſoon after obliged to change their language: for what other reſolution could I take? The method of proſecution deſigned againſt me would have put me immediately out of condition to act for myſelf, or to ſerve thoſe who were leſs

expoſed

expoſed than me, but who were, however, in danger. On the other hand, how few were there on whoſe aſſiſtance I could depend, or to whom I would, even in thoſe circumſtances, be obliged? The ferment in the nation was wrought up to a conſiderable height; but there was at that time no reaſon to expect that it could influence the proceedings in parliament in favor of thoſe who ſhould be accuſed. Left to it's own movement, it was much more proper to quicken than ſlacken the proſecutions: and who was there to guide it's motions? The tories who had been true to one another to the laſt were an handful, and no great vigor could

be

be expected from them. The whimſicals, diſappointed of the figure which they hoped to make, began indeed to join their old friends. One * of the principal amongſt them was ſo very good as to confeſs to me, that if the court had called the ſervants of the late queen to account, and had ſtopped there, he muſt have conſidered himſelf as a judge, and have acted according to his conſcience on what ſhould have appeared to him: but that war had been declared to the whole tory party, and that now the ſtate of things was altered. This diſ-

* Earl of ANGLESEY. I told the fact to the biſhop of ROCHESTER that night or the next day.

courſe

courſe needed no commentary, and proved to me, that I had never erred in the judgment I made of this ſet of men. Could I then reſolve to be obliged to them, or to ſuffer with OXFORD? As much as I ſtill was heated by the diſputes in which I had been all my life engaged againſt the whigs, I would ſooner have choſe to owe my ſecurity to their indulgence, than to the aſſiſtance of the whimſicals: but I thought baniſhment, with all her train of evils, preferable to either. I abhorred OXFORD to that degree, that I could not bear to be joined with him in any caſe. Nothing perhaps contributed ſo much to determine me as this ſentiment. A ſenſe

of

of honor would not have permitted me to diſtinguiſh between his caſe and mine own: and it was worſe than death to lie under the neceſſity of making them the ſame, and of taking meaſures in concert with him.

I AM now come to the time at which I left England, and have finiſhed the firſt part of that deduction of facts which I propoſed to lay before you. I am hopeful that you will not think it altogether tedious or unneceſſary: for altho very little of what I have ſaid can be new to you, yet this ſummary account will enable you with greater eaſe to recal to your memory the paſſages of thoſe four

four years, wherewith all that I am going to relate to you has an immediate and neceſſary connection.

In what has been ſaid I am far from making my own panegyric. I had not in thoſe days ſo much merit as was aſcribed to me: nor ſince that time have I had ſo little as the ſame perſons allowed me. I committed without diſpute many faults; and a greater man than I can pretend to be, conſtituted in the ſame circumſtances, would not have kept clear of all: but with reſpect to the tories I committed none. I carried the point of party-honor to the height, and ſacrificed every thing

to my attachment to them during this period of time. Let us now examine whether I have done ſo during the reſt.

WHEN I arrived in France, about the end of March one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen, the affairs of England were repreſented to me in another light, than I had ſeen them in when I looked upon them with my own eyes very few weeks before. I found the perſons, who were detached to ſpeak with me, prepared to think that I came over to negotiate for the pretender: and when they perceived that I was more ignorant than they imagined, I was aſſured by them, that there

would be ſuddenly an univerſal riſing in England and Scotland. The leaders were named to me, their engagements ſpecified, and many gentlemen, yourſelf among others, were reckoned upon for particular ſervices, tho I was certain you had never been treated with. From whence I concluded, and the event has juſtified my opinion, that theſe aſſurances had been given on the general characters of men, by ſuch of our friends as had embarked ſooner, and gone farther than the reſt.

This management ſurpriſed me extremely. In the anſwers I made, I endeavoured to ſet

the miſtake right; to ſhew that things were far from the point of maturity imagined; that the chevalier had yet no party for him, and that nothing could form one but the extreme violence which the whigs threatened to exerciſe. Great endeavours were uſed to engage me in this affair, and to prevail on me to anſwer the letter of invitation ſent me from Bar. I alledged, as it was true, that I had no commiſſion from any perſon in England, and that the friends I left behind me were the only perſons who could determine me, if any could, to take ſuch a ſtep. As to the laſt propoſition, I abſolutely refuſed it.

IN the uncertainty of what would happen, whether the proſecutions would be puſhed, which was moſt probable, in the manner intended againſt me, and againſt others, for all of whom, except the earl of OXFORD, I had as much concern as for myſelf; or whether the whigs would relent, drop ſome, and ſoften the fate of others; I reſolved to conduct myſelf ſo, as to create no appearance which might be ſtrained into a pretence for hard uſage, and which might be retorted on my friends when they debated for me, or when they defended themſelves. I ſaw the earl of STAIR, I promiſed him that I would enter into no jacobite-engagements, and I kept

my word with him. I writ a letter to Mr. ſecretary STANHOPE, which might take off any imputation of neglect of the government; and I retired into Dauphiné to remove the objection of reſidence near the court of France.

THIS retreat from Paris was cenſured in England, and ſtyled a deſertion of my friends and of their cauſe: with what foundation let any reaſonable man determine. Had I engaged with the pretender before the party acted for him, or required of me that I ſhould do ſo, I had taken the air of being his man; whereas I looked on myſelf as theirs: I had

gone about to bring them into his meaſures; whereas I never intended, even ſince that time, to do any thing more than to make him as far as poſſible act conformably to their views.

DURING the ſhort time I continued on the banks of the Rhone, the proſecutions were carried on at Weſtminſter with the utmoſt violence, and the ferment among the people was riſen to ſuch a degree, that it could end in nothing better, it might have ended in ſomething worſe, than it did. The meaſures which I obſerved at Paris had turned to no account; on the contrary, the letter which

I writ

I writ to Mr. ſecretary STANHOPE was quoted as a baſe and fawning ſubmiſſion: and what I intended as a mark of reſpect to the government, and a ſervice to my friends, was perverted to ruin me in the opinion of the latter. The act of attainder, in conſequence of my impeachment, had paſſed againſt me, for crimes of the blackeſt dye: and among other inducements to paſs it, my having been engaged in the pretender's intereſt was one. How well founded this article was, has already appeared: I was juſt as guilty of the reſt. The correſpondence with me was, you know, neither frequent nor ſafe. I heard ſeldom and darkly from

you; and tho I ſaw well enough which way the current ran, yet I was entirely ignorant of the meaſures you took, and of the uſe you intended to make of me. I contented myſelf, therefore, with letting you all know, that you had but to command me, and that I was ready to venture in your ſervice the little which remained, as frankly as I had expoſed all which was gone. At laſt your commands came, and I ſhall ſhew you in what manner I executed them.

THE perſon who was ſent to me arrived in the beginning of July, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen, at the place

where

where I was. He ſpoke in the name of all the friends whoſe authority could influence me, and he brought me word that Scotland was not only ready to take arms, but under ſome ſort of diſſatisfaction to be withheld from beginning; that in England the people were exaſperated againſt the government to ſuch a degree, that, far from wanting to be encouraged, they could not be reſtrained from inſulting it on every occaſion; that the whole tory party was become avowedly jacobite; that many officers of the army, and the majority of the ſoldiers were very well affected to the cauſe; that the city of London was ready to riſe, and that the enter-

priſes

priſes for ſeiſing of ſeveral places were ripe for execution: in a word, that moſt of the principal tories were in a concert with the duke of ORMOND, for I had preſſed particularly to be informed, whether his grace acted alone, or if not, who were his council; and that the others were ſo diſpoſed, that there remained no doubt of their joining as ſoon as the firſt blow ſhould be ſtruck. He added, that my friends were a little ſurpriſed to obſerve that I lay neuter in ſuch a conjuncture. He repreſented to me the danger I ran of being prevented by people of all ſides from having the merit of engaging early in this enterpriſe; and how unaccountable it would be for

a man

a man impeached and attainted under the preſent government, to take no ſhare in bringing about a revolution ſo near at hand and ſo certain. He entreated that I would defer no longer to join the chevalier; to adviſe and aſſiſt in carrying on his affairs, and to ſolicit and negotiate at the court of France, where my friends imagined that I ſhould not fail to meet with a favorable reception, and from whence they made no doubt of receiving aſſiſtance in a ſituation of affairs ſo critical, ſo unexpected, and ſo promiſing. He concluded by giving me a letter from the pretender, whom he had ſeen in his way to me, in which I was preſſed to repair without loſs of

time

time to Commercy: and this inſtance was grounded on the meſſage, which the bearer of the letter had brought me from my friends in England. Since he was ſent to me, it had been more proper to have come directly where I was: but he was in haſte to make his own court, and to deliver the aſſurances which were entruſted to him. Perhaps too he imagined that he ſhould tie the knot faſter on me by acquainting me, that my friends had actually engaged for themſelves and me, than by barely telling me that they deſired I would engage for myſelf and them.

In the progreſs of the converſation

verſation he related a multitude of facts, which ſatisfied me as to the general diſpoſition of the people; but he gave me little ſatisfaction as to the meaſures taken for improving this diſpoſition, for driving the buſineſs on with vigor if it tended to a revolution, or for ſupporting it with advantage if it ſpun into a war. When I queſtioned him concerning ſeveral perſons whoſe diſinclination to the government admitted of no doubt, and whoſe names, quality, and experience were very eſſential to the ſucceſs of the undertaking, he owned to me, that they kept a great reſerve, and did at moſt but encourage others to act, by general and dark expreſſions.

I RE-

I RECEIVED this account and this ſummons ill in my bed: yet important as the matter was, a few minutes ſerved to determine me. The circumſtances wanting to form a reaſonable inducement to engage did not eſcape me. But the ſmart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein: and I looked on my party to be under oppreſſion, and to call for my aſſiſtance. Beſides which, I conſidered firſt that I ſhould certainly be informed, when I conferred with the chevalier, of many particulars unknown to this gentleman; for I did not imagine that you could be ſo near to take arms, as he repreſented you to be, on no other foundation than that

which he expoſed: and ſecondly, that I was obliged in honor to declare, without waiting for a more particular information of what might be expected from England; ſince my friends had taken their reſolution to declare, without any previous aſſurance of what might be expected from France. This ſecond motive weighed extremely with me at that time: there is however more ſound than ſenſe in it, and it contains the original error to which all your ſubſequent errors, and the thread of misfortunes which followed, are to be aſcribed.

My reſolution thus taken, I loſt no time in repairing to

Commercy.

Commercy. The very firſt converſations with the chevalier anſwered in no degree my expectations: and I aſſure you with great truth, that I began even then, if not to repent of my own raſhneſs, yet to be fully convinced both of yours and mine.

He talked to me like a man who expected every moment to ſet out for England or Scotland, but who did not very well know for which: and when he entered into the particulars of his affairs, I found that concerning the former he had nothing more circumſtantial nor poſitive to go upon, than what I had already heard. The advices which were ſent from thence contained

contained ſuch aſſurances of ſucceſs, as it was hard to think that men, who did not go upon the ſureſt grounds, would preſume to give. But then theſe aſſurances were general, and the authority ſeldom ſatisfactory. Thoſe which came from the beſt hands were verbal, and often conveyed by very doubtful meſſengers; others came from men whoſe fortunes were as deſperate as their counſels; and others came from perſons whoſe ſituation in the world gave little reaſon to attend to their judgment in matters of this kind.

THE duke of ORMOND had been for ſome time, I cannot ſay how long, engaged with

the chevalier. He had taken the direction of this whole affair, as far as it related to England, upon himſelf, and had received a commiſſion for this purpoſe, which contained the moſt ample powers that could be given. After this, one would be apt to imagine, that the principles on which the pretender ſhould proceed, and the tories engage in this ſervice, had been laid down; that a regular and certain method of correſpondence had been eſtabliſhed; that the neceſſary aſſiſtances had been ſpecified, and that poſitive aſſurances had been given of them. Nothing leſs. In a matter as ſerious as this, all was looſe and abandoned to the diſpoſition of fortune.

fortune. The firſt point had never been touched upon: by what I have ſaid above you ſee how little care was taken of the ſecond: and as to the third, the duke had aſked a ſmall body of regular forces, a ſum of money, and a quantity of arms and ammunition. He had been told in anſwer by the court of France, that he muſt abſolutely deſpair of any number of troops whatever; but he had been made in general to hope for ſome money, ſome arms, and ſome ammunition: a little ſum had, I think, been advanced to him. In a caſe ſo plain as this, it is hard to conceive how any man could err. The aſſiſtances demanded from

France at this time, and even greater than theſe, will appear, in the ſequel of this relation, by the ſenſe of the whole party to have been deemed eſſentially neceſſary to ſucceſs. In ſuch an uncertainty therefore, whether even theſe could be obtained, or rather with ſo much reaſon to apprehend that they could not, it was evident that the tories ought to have lain ſtill. They might have helped the ferment againſt the government, but ſhould have avoided with the utmoſt care the giving any alarm, or even ſuſpicion of their true deſign, and have reſumed or not reſumed it as the chevalier was able or not able to provide the troops, the arms, the money,

ney, &c. Inſtead of which thoſe who were at the head of the undertaking, and therefore anſwerable for the meaſures which were purſued, ſuffered the buſineſs to jog merrily on. They knew in general how little dependence was to be placed on foreign ſuccour, but acted as if they had been ſure of it: while the party were rendered ſanguine by their paſſions, and made no doubt of ſubverting a government they were angry with, both one and the other made as much buſtle, and gave as great alarm, as would have been imprudent even at the eve of a general inſurrection. This appeared to me to be the ſtate of things with reſpect to Eng-

land, when I arrived at Commercy.

The Scots had long preſſed the chevalier to come amongſt them, and had of late ſent frequent meſſages to quicken his departure, ſome of which were delivered in terms much more zealous than reſpectful. The truth is, they ſeemed in as much haſte to begin, as if they had thought themſelves able to do the work alone; as if they had been apprehenſive of no danger but that of ſeeing it taken out of their hands, and of having the honor of it ſhared by others. However, that which was wanting on the part of England was not wanting in Scotland: the

Scots

Scots talked aloud, but they were in a condition to riſe. They took little care to keep their intentions ſecret, but they were diſpoſed to put thoſe intentions into immediate execution, and thereby to render the ſecret no longer neceſſary. They knew upon whom to depend for every part of the work, and they had concerted with the chevalier even to the place of his landing.

THERE was need of no great ſagacity to perceive how unequal ſuch foundations were to the weight of the building deſigned to be raiſed on them. The Scots with all their zeal and all their valor could bring

no revolution about, unleſs in concurrence with the Engliſh: and among the latter nothing was ripe for ſuch an undertaking but the temper of the people, if that was ſo. I thought therefore that the pretender's friends in the north ſhould be kept from riſing, till thoſe in the ſouth had put themſelves in a condition to act; and that in the mean while the utmoſt endeavours ought to be uſed with the king of FRANCE to eſpouſe the cauſe; and that a plan of the deſign, with a more particular ſpecification of the ſuccours deſired, as well as of the time when, and the place to which they ſhould be conveyed, ought to be writ for: all which,

I was

I was told by the marſhal of BERWIC, who had the principal direction at that time of theſe affairs in France, and I dare ſay very truly, had been often aſked but never ſent. I looked on this enterpriſe to be of the nature of thoſe which can hardly be undertaken more than once; and I judged that the ſucceſs of it would depend on timing, as near as poſſible, together the inſurrection in both parts of the iſland, and the ſuccours from hence. The pretender approved this opinion of mine. He inſtructed me accordingly: and I left Lorain, after having accepted the ſeals much againſt my inclination. I made one condition with him. It was this:

that I ſhould be at liberty to quit a ſtation, which my humor and many other conſiderations made me think myſelf very unfit for; whenever the occaſion upon which I engaged was over, one way or other: and I deſire you to remember that I did ſo.

I ARRIVED at Paris towards the end of July one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen. You will obſerve that all I was charged with, and all by conſequence that I am anſwerable for, was to ſolicit this court, and to diſpoſe them to grant us the ſuccours neceſſary to make the attempt, as ſoon as we ſhould know certainly from England in what

what it was deſired that theſe ſuccours ſhould conſiſt, and whither they ſhould be ſent. Here I found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what ſeemed good in his own eyes: no ſubordination, no order, no concert. Perſons concerned in the management of theſe affairs upon former occaſions have aſſured me, this is always the caſe. It might be ſo to ſome degree; but I believe never ſo much as now. The jacobites had wrought one another up to look on the ſucceſs of the preſent deſigns as infallible. Every meeting-houſe which the populace demoliſhed, every little drunken riot which happened, ſerved to confirm them

in

in theſe ſanguine expectations: and there was hardly one amongſt them who would loſe the air of contributing by his intrigues to the reſtoration, which, he took it for granted, would be brought about, without him, in a very few weeks.

CARE and hope ſat on every buſy iriſh face. Thoſe who could write and read had letters to ſhew, and thoſe who had not arrived to this pitch of erudition had their ſecrets to whiſper. No ſex was excluded from this miniſtry. FANNY OGLETHORPE, whom you muſt have ſeen in England, kept her corner in it, and OLIVE TRANT was the great wheel of our machine.

I IMAGINE

I IMAGINE that this picture, the lines of which are not in the leaſt too ſtrong, would ſerve to repreſent what paſſed on your ſide of the water at the ſame time. The letters which came from thence ſeemed to me to contain rather ſuch things as the writers wiſhed might be true, than ſuch as they knew to be ſo: and the accounts which were ſent from hence were of the ſame kind. The vanity of ſome, and the credulity of others ſupported this ridiculous correſpondence; and I queſtion not, but very many perſons, ſome ſuch I have known, did the ſame thing from a principle which they took to be a very wiſe one: they imagined that they helped by theſe

means

means to maintain and to increaſe the ſpirit of the party in England and France. They acted like THOAS, that turbulent aetolian, who brought ANTIOCHUS into Greece: "quibus mendaciis de rege, multiplicando verbis copias ejus, erexerat multorum in Graecia animos; iiſdem et regis ſpem inflabat, omnium votis eum arceſſi." Thus were numbers of people employed under a notion of advancing the buſineſs, or from an affectation of importance, in amuſing and flattering one another, and in ſounding the alarm in the ears of an enemy, whom it was their intereſt to ſurpriſe. The government of England was put on

it's guard: and the neceſſity of acting, or of laying aſide with ſome diſadvantage all thoughts of acting for the preſent, was precipitated, before any meaſures neceſſary to enable you to act had been prepared, or almoſt thought of.

If his majeſty did not, till ſome ſhort time after this, declare the intended invaſion to parliament, it was not for want of information. Before I came to Paris, what was doing had been diſcovered. The little armament made at the Havre, which furniſhed the only means the chevalier then had for his tranſportation into Britain, which had exhauſted the treaſury of St. Germains,

mains, and which contained all the arms and ammunition that could be depended upon for the whole undertaking, tho they were hardly ſufficient to begin the work even in Scotland, was talked of publicly. A miniſter leſs alert and leſs capable than the earl of STAIR would eaſily have been at the bottom of the ſecret, for ſo it was called, when the particulars of meſſages received and ſent, the names of the perſons from whom they came, and by whom they were carried, were whiſpered about at tea-tables and in coffee-houſes.

IN ſhort; what by the indiſcretion of people here, what by the rebound which came often back

back from London, what by the private intereſts and ambitious views of perſons in the french court, and what by other cauſes unneceſſary to be examined now, the moſt private tranſactions came to light: and they, who imagined that they truſted their heads to the keeping of one or two friends, were in reality at the mercy of numbers. Into ſuch company was I fallen, for my ſins: and it is upon the credit of ſuch a mob miniſtry, that the tories have judged me capable of betraying a truſt, or incapable of diſcharging it.

I HAD made very little progreſs in the buſineſs which brought me to Paris, when

the paper ſo long expected was ſent, in purſuance of former inſtances, from England. The unanimous ſenſe of the principal perſons engaged was contained in it. The whole had been dictated word for word to the gentleman, who brought it over, by the earl of MAR, and it had been delivered to him by the duke of ORMOND. I was driving in the wide ocean without a compaſs, when this dropped unexpectedly into my hands. I received it joyfully, and I ſteered my courſe exactly by it. Whether the perſons from whom it came purſued the principles, and obſerved the rules which they laid down as the meaſures of their own conduct and of

ours,

ours, will appear by the ſequel of this relation.

THIS memorial aſſerted, that there were no hopes of ſucceeding in a preſent undertaking, for many reaſons deduced in it, without an immediate and univerſal riſing of the people in all parts of England upon the chevalier's arrival; and that this inſurrection was in no degree probable unleſs he brought a body of regular troops along with him: that, if this attempt miſcarried, his cauſe and his friends, the engliſh liberty and government, would be utterly ruined: but, if by coming without troops he reſolved to riſque theſe and every thing elſe, he muſt ſet out

ſo as not to arrive before the end of September, O. S. to juſtify which opinion many arguments were urged. In this caſe twenty thouſand arms, a train of artillery, five hundred officers with their ſervants, and a conſiderable ſum of money were demanded: and as ſoon as they ſhould be informed that the chevalier was in condition to make this proviſion, it was ſaid that notice ſhould be given him of the places to which he might ſend, and of the perſons who were to be truſted. I do not mention ſome inconveniencies which they touched upon ariſing from a delay; becauſe their opinion was clearly for this delay, and becauſe that they could

not

not ſuppoſe that the chevalier would act, or that thoſe about him would adviſe him to act, contrary to the ſenſe of all his friends in England. No time was loſt in making the proper uſe of this paper. As much of it as was fit to be ſhewn to this court was tranſlated into French, and laid before the king of FRANCE. I was now able to ſpeak with greater aſſurance, and in ſome ſort to undertake conditionally for the event of things.

THE propoſal of violating treaties, ſo lately and ſo ſolemnly concluded, was a very bold one to be made to people, whatever their inclinations might be,

whom the war had reduced to the loweſt ebb of riches and power. They would not hear of a direct and open engagement, ſuch as the ſending a body of troops would have been; neither would they grant the whole of what was aſked in the ſecond plan. But it was impoſſible for them, or any one elſe, to foreſee how far thoſe ſteps which they were willing to take, well improved, might have encouraged or forced them to go. They granted us ſome ſuccours, and the very ſhip in which the pretender was to tranſport himſelf was fitted out by DEPINE D'AMICANT at the king of FRANCE's expence. They would have concealed theſe appearances

pearances as much as they could; but the heat of the whigs and the reſentment of the court of England might have drawn them in. We ſhould have been glad indirectly to concur in fixing theſe things upon them: and, in a word, if the late king had lived ſix months longer, I verily believe there had been war again between England and France. This was the only point of time when theſe affairs had, to my apprehenſion, the leaſt reaſonable appearance even of poſſibility: all that preceded was wild and uncertain: all that followed was mad and deſperate. But this favorable aſpect had an extreme ſhort duration. Two events ſoon happened, one

of which caſt a damp on all we were doing, and the other rendered vain and fruitleſs all we had done. The firſt was the arrival of the duke of ORMOND in France, the other was the death of the king.

WE had ſounded the duke's name high. His reputation and the opinion of his power were great. The French began to believe that he was able to form and to head a party; that the troops would join him; that the nation would follow the ſignal whenever he drew his ſword: and the voice of the people, the echo of which was continually in their ears, confirmed them in this belief. But when, in the midſt

midſt of all theſe bright ideas, they ſaw him arrive, almoſt literally alone, when, to excuſe his coming, I was obliged to tell them, that he could not ſtay; they ſunk at once from their hopes: and that which generally happens happened in this caſe; becauſe they had had too good an opinion of the cauſe, they began to form too bad an one. Before this time, if they had no friendſhip for the tories, they had at leaſt ſome conſideration and eſteem. After this, I ſaw nothing but compaſſion in the beſt of them, and contempt in the others.

WHEN I arrived at Paris, the king was already gone to Marly, where

where the indiſpoſition which he had begun to feel at Verſailles increaſed upon him. He was the beſt friend the chevalier had: and when I engaged in this buſineſs, my principal dependence was on his perſonal character. This failed me to a great degree: he was not in a condition to exert the ſame vigor as formerly. The miniſters, who ſaw ſo great an event as his death to be probably at hand, a certain minority, an uncertain regency, perhaps confuſion, at beſt a new face of government and a new ſyſtem of affairs, would not, for their own ſakes, as well as for the ſake of the public, venture to engage far in any new meaſures. All

I had

I had to negotiate by myſelf firſt, and in conjunction with the duke of ORMOND ſoon afterwards, languiſhed with the king. My hopes ſunk as he declined, and died when he expired. The event of things has ſufficiently ſhewn that all thoſe, which were entertained by the duke and the jacobite party under the regency, were founded on the groſſeſt deluſions imaginable. Thus was the project become impracticable before the time arrived, which was fixed by thoſe, who directed things in England, for putting it in execution.

THE new government of France appeared to me like a ſtrange

ſtrange country. I was little acquainted with the roads. Moſt of the faces I met with were unknown to me, and I hardly underſtood the language of the people. Of the men who had been in power under the late reign, many were diſcarded, and moſt of the others were too much taken up with the thoughts of ſecuring themſelves under this, to receive applications in favor of the pretender. The two men who had the greateſt appearance of favor and power were D'AGUESSEAU and NOAILLES. One was made chancellor, on the death of VOISIN; from attorney general; and the other was placed at the head of the treaſury. The firſt paſſes for

a man of parts, but he never acted out of the ſphere of the law: I had no acquaintance with him before this time; and when you conſider his circumſtances and mine, you will not think it could be very eaſy for me to get acceſs to him now. The latter I had known extremely well whilſt the late king lived: and from the ſame court principle, as he was glad to be well with me then, he would hardly know me now. The * miniſter who had the principal direction of foreign affairs I lived in friendſhip with, and I muſt own to his honor, that he never encouraged a deſign, which he knew that his court had no intention of ſupporting.

* M. D'HUXELLES.

THERE

THERE were other perſons, not to tire you with farther particulars upon this head, of credit and influence, with whom I found indirect and private ways of converſing: but it was in vain to expect any more than civil language from them, in a caſe which they found no diſpoſition in their maſter to countenance, and in favor of which they had no prejudices of their own. The private engagements into which the duke of ORLEANS had entered with his majeſty, during the life of the late king, will abate of their force as the regent grows into ſtrength, and would ſoon have had no force at all if the pretender had met with ſucceſs: but in theſe

beginnings they operated very ſtrongly. The air of this court was to take the counterpart of all which had been thought right under LEWIS the fourteenth. "Cela reſemble trop "à l'ancien ſyſtème," was an anſwer ſo often given, that it became a jeſt, and almoſt a proverb. But to finiſh this account with a fact which is incredible, but ſtrictly true; the very peace, which had ſaved France from ruin, and the makers of it, were become as unpopular at this court, as at the court of Vienna.

THE duke of ORMOND flattered himſelf in this ſtate of things, that he had opened a private

and

and ſure channel of arriving at the regent, and of bending him to his purpoſes. His grace and I lived together at this time in an houſe which one of my friends had lent me. I obſerved that he was frequently loſt, and that he made continual excurſions out of town, with all the myſterious precaution imaginable. I doubted at firſt, whether theſe intrigues related to buſineſs or pleaſure. I ſoon diſcovered with whom they were carried on, and had reaſon to believe that both were mingled in them. It is neceſſary that I explain this ſecret to you.

Mrs. Trant, whom I have named above, had been preparing

paring herſelf for the retired abſtemious life of a * carmelite, by taking a ſurfeit of the pleaſures of Paris; when a little before the death of the queen, or about that time, ſhe went into England. What ſhe was entruſted, either by the chevalier, or any other perſon, to negotiate there, I am ignorant of; and it imports not much to know. In that journey ſhe made or renewed an acquaintance with the duke of ORMOND. The Scandalous chronicle affirms, that ſhe brought with her, when ſhe returned into France, a woman,

* She uſed to pretend a reſolution of turning nun. She is ſince married to the duke of BOUILLON's brother, who was too much diſhonored by his former life, to be ſo even by this ſcandalous match.

of whom I have not the leaſt knowledge, but who was probably handſome; ſince without beauty ſuch a merchandiſe would not have been ſaleable, nor have anſwered the deſign of the importer: and that ſhe made this way her court to the regent. Whatever her merit was, ſhe kept a correſpondence with him, and put herſelf upon that foot of familiarity, which he permits all thoſe, who contribute to his pleaſures, to aſſume. She was placed by him, as ſhe told me herſelf, where I found her ſome time after that which I am ſpeaking of, in the houſe of an antient gentlewoman, who had formerly been maid of honor to Madame, and who had contracted at court

a ſpirit

a ſpirit of intrigue, which accompanied her in her retreat.

THESE two had aſſociated to them the abbé de TESIEU, in all the political parts of their buſineſs; for I will not ſuppoſe that ſo reverend an eccleſiaſtic entered into any other ſecret. This abbé is the regent's ſecretary: and it was chiefly through him that the private treaty had been carried on between his maſter and the earl of STAIR in the king's reign. Whether the prieſt had ſtooped at the lure of a cardinal's hat, or whether he acted the ſecond part by the ſame orders that he acted the firſt, I know not. This is ſure, and the britiſh miniſter was not the bubble of it,

that whilſt he concerted meaſures on one hand to traverſe the pretender's deſigns, he teſtified on the other all the inclination poſſible to his ſervice. A mad fellow, who had been an intendant in Normandy, and ſeveral other politicians of the loweſt form, were at different times taken into this famous junto.

WITH theſe worthy people his grace of ORMOND negotiated; and no care was omitted on his part to keep me out of the ſecret. The reaſon of which, as far as I am able to gueſs at, ſhall be explained to you by and by. I might very juſtly have taken this proceeding ill, and the duke will not be able to find

in my whole conduct towards him any thing like it: I proteſt to you very ſincerely I was not in the leaſt moved at it.

He advanced not a ſtep in his buſineſs with theſe ſham miniſters, and yet imagined that he got daily ground. I made no progreſs with the true ones, but I ſaw it. Theſe, however, were not our only difficulties. We lay under another, which came from your ſide, and which embarraſſed us more. The firſt hindered us from working forward to our point of view, but the ſecond took all point of view from us.

A paper was ſent into Eng-

and juſt before the death of the king of FRANCE, which had been drawn by me at Chaville in concert with the dukes of ORMOND and BERWIC, and with monſieur de TORCY. This paper was an anſwer to the memorial received from thence. *The ſtate of this* country was truly repreſented in it: the difference was fixed between what had been aſked, and what might be expected from France; and upon the whole it was demanded what our friends would do, and what they would have us to do? The reply to this came through the french ſecretary of ſtate to our hands. They declared themſelves unable to ſay any thing, till they ſhould ſee what turn affairs

would

would take on ſo great an event as the death of the king, the report of which had reached them.

Such a declaration ſhut our mouths and tied our hands. I confeſs I knew neither how to ſolicit, nor what to ſolicit; this laſt meſſage ſuſpending the project on which we had acted before, and which I kept as an inſtruction conſtantly before my eyes. It ſeemed to me uncertain, whether you intended to go on, or whether your deſign was to ſtifle, as much as poſſible, all paſt tranſactions; to lie perfectly ſtill; to throw upon the court the odium of having given a falſe alarm, and to wait

till new accidents at home, and a more favorable conjuncture abroad, might tempt you to reſume the enterpriſe. Perhaps this would have been the wiſeſt game you could have played: but then, you ſhould have concerted it with us who acted for you here. You intended no ſuch thing, as appeared afterwards: and therefore thoſe who acted for the party at London, whoever they were, muſt be deemed inexcuſable for leaving things on the foot of this meſſage, and giving us no advice fit to be depended upon for many weeks. Whilſt preparations were to be made, and the work was to be ſet a going by aſſiſtance from hence, you might reaſonably expect to hear from

from us, and to be determined by us: but when all hopes of this kind ſeemed to be gone, it was your part to determine us, and we could take no reſolution here, but that of conforming ourſelves to whatever ſhould come preſcribed from England.

WHILST we were in this condition, the moſt deſperate that can be imagined, we began to receive verbal meſſages from you, that no more time was to be loſt, and that the chevalier ſhould come away. No man was, I believe, ever ſo embarraſſed as I found myſelf at that time. I could not imagine that you would content yourſelves by looſe verbal meſſages, after all that had happened,

pened, to call us over; and I knew by experience how little ſuch meſſages are to be depended on. For, ſoon after I engaged in theſe affairs, a monk arrived at Bar, diſpatched, as he affirmed, by the duke of ORMOND, in whoſe name he inſiſted that the chevalier ſhould haſten into Britain, and that nothing but his preſence was wanting to place the crown on his head. The fellow delivered his errand ſo poſitively, and ſo circumſtantially, that the reſolution was taken at Bar to ſet out, and my rendezvous to join the chevalier was appointed me. This method to fetch a king, with as little ceremony as one would invite a friend to ſupper, appeared ſomewhat odd

odd to me, who was then very new in theſe affairs. But when I came to talk with the man, for by good luck he had been ſent for from Bar to Paris, I eaſily diſcerned that he had no ſuch commiſſion as he pretended to, and that he acted of his own head. I preſumed to oppoſe the taking any reſolution upon his word, tho he was a monk: and ſoon after we knew from the duke of ORMOND himſelf, that he had never ſent him.

THIS example made me cautious; but that which determined my opinion was, that I could never imagine, without ſuppoſing you all run mad, that the ſame men who judged this at-

tempt unripe for execution, unleſs ſupported by regular troops from France, or at leaſt by all the other aſſiſtances which are enumerated above, while the deſign was much more ſecret than at preſent; when the king had no fleet at ſea, nor more than eight thouſand men diſperſed over the whole iſland; when we had the good wiſhes of the french court on our ſide, and were ſure of ſome particular aſſiſtances, and of a general connivance; that the ſame men, I ſay, ſhould preſs for making it now without any other preparation, when we had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor a ſingle company of foot; when the government of England was on it's

guard,

guard, national troops were raiſed, foreign forces ſent for, and France, like all the reſt of the continent, againſt us. I could not conceive ſuch a ſtrange combination of accidents as ſhould make the neceſſity of acting increaſe gradually upon us, as the means of doing ſo were taken from us.

UPON the whole matter, my opinion was, and I did not obſerve the duke of ORMOND to differ from me, that we ſhould wait till we heard from you in ſuch a manner, as might aſſure us of what you intended to do yourſelves, and of what you expected from us; and that in the mean while we ſhould go as far

as

as the little money which we had, and the little favor which was ſhewn us would allow, in getting ſome embarkations ready on the coaſt.

SIR GEORGE BYNG had come into the road of Havre, and had demanded by name ſeveral ſhips which belonged to us, to be given up to him. The regent did not think fit to let him have the ſhips; but he ordered them to be unloaded, and their cargoes were put into the king's magazines. We were in no condition to repair the loſs; and therefore, when I mention embarkations, you will pleaſe to underſtand nothing more than veſſels to tranſport the pretender's perſon,

perſon, and the perſons of thoſe who ſhould go over with him. This was all we could do, and this was not neglected.

We were thus employed when a gentleman arrived from Scotland to repreſent the ſtate of that country, and to require a definitive anſwer from the chevalier, whether he would have the inſurrection to be made immediately, which they apprehended they might not be able to make at all if they were obliged to defer it much longer. This gentleman was ſent inſtantly back again, and was directed to let the perſons he came from know, that the chevalier was deſirous to have the riſing of his friends

in

in England and Scotland ſo adjuſted, that they might mutually aſſiſt each other, and diſtract the enemy; that he had not received a final anſwer from his friends in England, but that he was in daily expectation of it; that it was very much to be wiſhed, that all attempts in Scotland could be ſuſpended till ſuch time as the Engliſh were ready; but that if the Scots were ſo preſſed that, they muſt either ſubmit or riſe immediately, he was of opinion they ſhould riſe, and he would make the beſt of his way to them.

WHAT this forwardneſs in the Scots, and this uncertainty and backwardneſs in the Engliſh muſt

produce, it was not hard to foreſee; and therefore, that I might neglect nothing in my power to prevent any falſe meaſures, as I was conſcious to myſelf that I had neglected nothing to promote true ones, I diſpatched a gentleman to London, where I ſuppoſed the earl of MAR to be, ſome days before the meſſage I have juſt ſpoken of was ſent to Scotland. I deſired him to make my compliments to lord MAR, and to tell him from me, that I underſtood it to be his ſenſe, as well as the ſenſe of all our friends, that Scotland could do nothing effectually without the concurrence of England, and that England would not ſtir without aſſiſtance from abroad; that

he might aſſure himſelf no ſuch aſſiſtance could be depended upon; and that I begged of him to make the inference from theſe propoſitions. The gentleman went; but upon his arrival at London he found that the earl of MAR was already ſet out to draw the Highlanders into arms. He communicated his meſſage to a perſon * of confidence, who undertook to ſend it after his lordſhip: and this was the utmoſt which either he or I could do in ſuch a conjuncture.

You were now viſibly departed from the very ſcheme which you had ſent us over, and from

* Mr. LEWIS, who belonged to the earl of OXFORD.

ſell

all the principles which had been ever laid down. I did what I could to keep up my own ſpirit, as well as the ſpirits of the chevalier, and of all thoſe with whom I was in correſpondence: I endeavoured even to deceive myſelf. I could not remedy the miſchief, and I was reſolved to ſee the concluſion of the perillous adventure. But I own to you, that I thought then, and that I have not changed my opinion ſince, that ſuch meaſures as theſe would not be purſued by any reaſonable man, in the moſt common affairs of life. It was with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment that I ſaw them purſued in the conduct of an enterpriſe, which had for it's object nothing

leſs than the diſpoſition of crowns, and for the means of bringing it about nothing leſs than a civil war.

IMPATIENT that we heard nothing from England, when we expected every moment to hear that the war was begun in Scotland; the duke of ORMOND and I reſolved to ſend a perſon * of confidence to London. We inſtructed him to repeat to you the former accounts, which we had ſent over, to let you know how deſtitute the chevalier was, either of actual ſupport, or even of reaſonable hopes; and to deſire that you would determine

* Mr. EZECHIEL HAMILTON: he got all the papers by heart.

whether he ſhould go to Scotland, or throw himſelf on ſome part of the engliſh coaſt. This perſon was farther inſtructed to tell you, that, the chevalier being ready to take any reſolution at a moment's warning, you might depend on his ſetting out the inſtant he received your anſwer: and therefore that to ſave time, if your intention was to riſe, you would do well to act immediately, on the aſſurance that the plan you preſcribed; be it what it would, ſhould be exactly complied with. We took this reſolution the rather, becauſe one of the pacquets which had been prepared in cypher, to give you an account of things, which had been put above three

weeks before into monſieur de TORCY's hands, and which by conſequence we thought to be in yours, was by this time ſent back to me by this miniſter, I think open, with an excuſe that he durſt not take upon him to forward it.

THE perſon diſpatched to London returned very ſoon to us, and the anſwer he brought was *, that ſince affairs grew daily worſe, and could not mend by delay, our friends in England had reſolved to declare immediately, and that they would be ready to join the chevalier on his landing: that his perſon would be

* LANSDOWN gave this anſwer in the name of all the perſons privy to the ſecret.

as ſafe there as in Scotland, and that, in every other reſpect, it was better that he ſhould land in England; that they had uſed their utmoſt endeavours, and that they hoped the weſtern counties were in a good poſture to receive him. To this was added, a general indication of the place he ſhould come to, as near to Plymouth as poſſible.

You muſt agree, that this was not the anſwer of men who knew what they were about. A little more preciſion was neceſſary in dictating a meſſage, which was to have ſuch conſequences: and eſpecially ſince the gentleman could not fail to acquaint

the perſons he ſpoke with, that the chevalier was not able to carry men enough to ſecure him from being taken up, even by the firſt conſtable. Notwithſtanding this, the duke of ORMOND ſet out from Paris, and the chevalier from Bar. Some perſons were ſent to the north of England, and others to London, to give notice that they were both on their way. Their routs were ſo ordered, that the duke of ORMOND was to ſail from the coaſt of Normandy ſome days before the chevalier arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was to ſend immediate notice of his landing; and two gentlemen acquainted with the country, and perfect-

ly well known to all our friends in thoſe parts, were diſpatched before, that the people of Devonſhire and Somerſetſhire, who were, we concluded, in arms, might be appriſed of the ſignals which were to be made from the ſhips, and might be ready to receive the duke.

On the coaſt of France, and before his embarkation, the duke heard that ſeveral of our principal friends had been ſeiſed, immediately after the perſon who came laſt from them had left London; that the others were all diſperſed; and that the conſternation was univerſal. He embarked notwithſtanding this melancholy news, and, ſupport-

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ed by nothing but the firmneſs of his temper, he went over to the place appointed: he did more than his part, and he found that our friends had done leſs than theirs. One of the gentlemen, who had paſſed over before him, and had traverſed part of the country, joined him on the coaſt, and aſſured him that there was not the leaſt room to expect a riſing. In a word, he was refuſed a night's lodging in a country which we had been told was in a good poſture to receive the chevalier, and where the duke expected that multitudes would repair to him.

He returned to the coaſt of Britany after this uncomfortable expedition,

expedition, where the chevalier arrived about the ſame time from Lorain. What his grace propoſed by the ſecond attempt, which he made as ſoon as the veſſel could be refitted, to land in the ſame part of the iſland, I profeſs myſelf to be ignorant. I writ him my opinion at the time, and I have always thought, that the ſtorm in which he had like to have been caſt away, and which forced him back to the french coaſt, ſaved him from a much greater peril, that of periſhing in an attempt as full of extravagant raſhneſs, and as void of all reaſonable meaning, as any of thoſe adventures which have rendered the hero of La Mancha immortal.

THE

THE chevalier had now but one of theſe two things left him to do, one was to return to Bar, the other was to go to Scotland, where there were people in arms for him. He took this laſt reſolution. He left Britany, where he had as many miniſters as there were people about him, and where he was eternally teiſed with noiſy diſputes about what was to be done in circumſtances, in which no reaſonable thing could be done. He ſent to have a veſſel got readỳ for him at Dunkirk, and he croſſed the country as privately as he could.

WHILST all theſe things paſſed, I remained at Paris, to try if by any

any means ſome aſſiſtance might be at laſt procured; without which it was evident, even to thoſe who flattered themſelves the moſt, that the game was up.

No ſooner was the duke of ORMOND gone from Paris, on the deſign which I have mentioned, and Mrs. TRANT, who had accompanied him part of the way, returned, but I was ſent for to a little houſe at Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne, where ſhe lived with mademoiſelle de CHAUSSERY, the antient gentlewoman with whom the duke of ORLEANS had placed her. Theſe two perſons opened to me what had paſſed whilſt the duke of ORMOND was here, and the hopes

hopes they had of drawing the regent into all the meaſures neceſſary to ſupport the attempts which were making in favor of the chevalier.

By what they told me at firſt, I ſaw that they had been truſted; and by what paſſed in the courſe of my treating with them, it appeared, that they had the acceſs which they pretended to. All, which I had been able to do by proper perſons and in proper methods, ſince the king of FRANCE's death, amounting to little or nothing, I reſolved, at laſt, to try what was to be done by this indirect way. I put myſelf under the conduct of theſe female managers; and, without having

having the ſame dependence on them as his grace of ORMOND had, I puſhed their credit and their power as far as they reached, during the time I continued to ſee them. I met with ſmoother language and greater hopes than had been given me hitherto. A note ſigned by the regent, ſuppoſed to be writ to a woman, but which was to be explained to be intended for the earl of MAR, was put into my hands to be ſent to Scotland. I took a copy of it, which you may ſee at the end of theſe papers *. When Sir JOHN ARESKINE came to preſs for ſuccour, the regent was prevailed upon by

* This note has not been found among the author's papers.

theſe

theſe women to ſee him; but he carried nothing real back with him, except a quantity of gold, part of the money which we had drawn from Spain, and which was loſt with the veſſel, in a very odd manner, on the ſcotch coaſt. The duke of ORMOND had been promiſed ſeven or eight thouſand arms, which were drawn out of the magazines, and ſaid to be lodged, I think, at Compeigne. I uſed my utmoſt efforts that theſe arms might be carried forward to the coaſt, and I undertook for their tranſportation: but all was in vain; ſo that the likelihood of bringing any thing to effect in time appeared to me no greater, than I had found it before I entered into this intrigue.

I SOON

I soon grew tired of a commerce, which nothing but ſucceſs could render tolerable; and reſolved to be no longer amuſed by the pretences, which were daily repeated to me, that the regent had entertained perſonal prejudices againſt me, and that he was inſenſibly, and by degrees, to be dipped in our meaſures; that both theſe things required time, but that they would certainly be brought about, and that we ſhould then be able to anſwer all the expectations of the Engliſh and the Scotch. The firſt of theſe pretences contained a fact, which I could hardly perſuade myſelf to be true, becauſe I knew very certainly, that I had

never given his royal highneſs the leaſt occaſion for ſuch prejudices: the ſecond was a work which might ſpin out into a great and uncertain length. I. took my reſolution to drive what related to myſelf to an immediate explanation, and what related to others to an immediate deciſion; not to ſuffer any excuſe for doing nothing to be founded on my conduct, nor the ſalvation, if I could hinder it, of ſo many gallant men, as were in arms in Scotland, to reſt on the ſucceſs of ſuch womaniſh projects. I ſhall tell you what I did on the firſt head now, and what I did on the ſecond hereafter in it's proper place.

THE

THE fact, which it was ſaid the regent laid to my charge, was a correſpondence with lord STAIR, and having been one night at his houſe, from whence I did not retire till three in the morning. As ſoon as I got hold of this, I deſired the marſhal of BERWIC to go to him. The marſhal told him from me, that I had been extremely concerned, to hear in general, that I lay under his diſpleaſure; that a ſtory, which it was ſaid he believed, had been related to me; that I expected the juſtice which he could deny to no man, of having the accuſation proved, in which caſe I was contented to paſs for the laſt of human-kind; or of being juſti-

fied, if it could not be proved. He anſwered, that ſuch a ſtory had been related to him by ſuch perſons as he thought would not have deceived him; that he had been ſince convinced, that it was falſe, and that I ſhould be ſatisfied of his regard for me: but that, he muſt own, he was very uneaſy to find that I, who could apply to him through the marſhal D'HUXELLES, could chuſe to treat with Mrs. TRANT, and the reſt; for he named all the cabal, except his ſecretary, whom I had never met at mademoiſelle CHAUSSERY's. He added that theſe people teiſed him, at my inſtigation, to death; and that they were not fit to be truſted with any buſineſs. He

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applied to ſome of them the ſe-
vereſt epithets. The marſhal of
BERWIC replied, that he was
ſure I ſhould receive the whole
of what he had been pleaſed to
ſay with the greateſt ſatisfacti-
on; that I had treated with
thoſe perſons much againſt my
will; and finally, that if his
royal highneſs would not employ
them, he was ſure I would ne-
ver apply to them. In a con-
verſation which I had, not long
after, with him, he ſpoke to
me in much the ſame terms as
he had done to the marſhal. I
went from him very ill edified
as to his intentions of doing any
thing in favor of the cheva-
lier; but I carried away with
me this ſatisfaction, that he had

aſſigned me, from his own mouth, the perſon through whom I ſhould make my applications to him, and through whom I ſhould depend on receiving his anſwers; that he had diſavowed all the little politic clubs, and had commanded me to have no more to do with them.

BEFORE I reſume the thread of my narration, give me leave to make ſome reflection upon what I have been laſt ſaying to you. When I met with the duke of ORMOND at his return from the coaſt, he thought himſelf obliged to ſay ſomething to excuſe his keeping me out of a ſecret, which during his abſence

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I had been let into. His excuſe was, that the regent had exacted from him that I ſhould know nothing of the matter. You will obſerve, that the account which I have given you ſeems to contradict this aſſertion of his grace, ſince it is hard to ſuppoſe, that, if the regent had exacted that I ſhould be kept out of the ſecret, theſe women would have dared to have let me into it; and ſince it is ſtill harder to ſuppoſe, that the regent would make this expreſs condition with the duke of ORMOND, and the moment the duke's back was turned, would ſuffer theſe women to teiſe him from me, and to bring me anſwers from him. I am, however, far

from taxing the duke with affirming an untruth. I believe the regent did make ſuch a condition with him: and I will tell you how I underſtand all this little management; which will explain a great deal to you. This prince, with wit and valor, has joined all the irreſolution of temper poſſible, and is, perhaps, the man in the world the leaſt capable of ſaying no to your face. From hence it happened, that theſe women, like multitudes of other people, forced him to ſay and do enough to give them the air of having credit with him, and of being truſted by him. This drew in the duke of ORMOND, who is not, I dare ſay, as yet undeceived. The re-

regent never intended from the firſt, to do any thing, even indirectly, in favor of the jacobite cauſe. His intereſt was plainly on the other ſide, and he ſaw it. But then the ſame weakneſs in his character carried him, as it would have done his great uncle GASTON in the ſame caſe, to keep meaſures with the chevalier. His double trimming character prevailed on him to talk with the duke of ORMOND: but it carried him no farther. I queſtion not but he did, on this occaſion, what you muſt have obſerved many men to do. We not only endeavour to impoſe on the world, but even on ourſelves. We diſguiſe our weakneſs, and work up in our minds an opinion

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nion, that the meaſure, which we fall into by the natural or habitual imperfection of our character, is the effect of a principle of prudence, or of ſome other virtue. Thus the regent, who ſaw the duke of ORMOND, becauſe he could not reſiſt the importunity of OLIVE TRANT, and who gave hopes to the duke, becauſe he can refuſe no body, made himſelf believe that it was a great ſtrain of policy to blow up the fire, and to keep Britain embroiled. I am perſuaded that I do not err in judging that he thought in this manner; and here I fix the reaſon of his excluding me out of the commerce which he had with the duke of ORMOND,

of

of his affecting a perſonal diſlike of me, and of his avoiding any correſpondence with me upon theſe matters; till I forced myſelf in a manner upon him, and he could not keep me any longer at a diſtance without departing from his firſt principle, that of keeping meaſures with every body. He then threw me, or let me ſlide if you will, into the hands of theſe women; and when he found that I preſſed him hard that way too, he took me out of their hands, and put me back again into the proper channel of buſineſs; where I had not been long, as you will ſee by and by, before the ſcene of amuſement was finiſhed.

Sir John Areskine told me, when he came from the firſt audience that he had of his royal highneſs, that he put him in mind of the encouragement which he had given the earl of Mar to take arms. I never heard any thing of this kind, but what Sir John let drop to me. If the fact be true, you ſee that the ſcotch general had been amuſed by him with a witneſs. The engliſh general was ſo in his turn; and while this was doing, the regent might think it beſt to have him to himſelf. Four eyes comprehend more objects than two, and I was a little better acquainted with the characters of people, and the maſs of the coun-

country, than the duke, tho this court had been at firſt a ſtrange country to me in compariſon of the former.

An infinity of little circumſtances concurred to make me form this opinion, ſome of which are better felt than explained, and many of which are not preſent to my memory. That which had the greateſt weight with me, and which is, I think, deciſive, I will mention. At the very time when it is pretended, that the regent treated with the duke of Ormond, on the expreſs condition that I ſhould know nothing of the matter; two * perſons of the firſt rank

* Marſhal D'Huxelles, marquis D'Effand

and greateſt credit in this court, when I made the moſt preſſing inſtances to them in favor of the chevalier, threw out in converſation to me, that I ſhould attach myſelf to the duke of Orleans, that in my circumſtances I might want him, and that he might have occaſion for me. Something was intimated of penſions, and eſtabliſhment, and of making my peace at home. I would not underſtand this language, becauſe I would not break with the people who held it: and when they ſaw that I would not take the hints, they ceaſed to give them.

FIAT: twenty five thouſand pounds offered by the laſt.

I FAN-

I FANCY that you ſee by this time the motives of the regent's conduct. I am not, I confeſs, able to explain to you thoſe of the duke of ORMOND'S: I cannot ſo much as gueſs at them. When he came into France I was careful to ſhew him all the friendſhip, and all the reſpect poſſible. My friends were his, my purſe was his, and even my bed was his. I went further, I did all thoſe things which touch moſt ſenſibly people who have been uſed to pomp. I made my court to him, and haunted his levee with aſſiduity. In return to this behaviour, which was the pure effect of my good will, and which no duty that I owed his grace, no

obligation that I had to him, impoſed upon me; I have great reaſon to ſuſpect, that he went at leaſt half way in all which was ſaid or done againſt me. He threw himſelf blindly into the ſnare which was laid for him; and, inſtead of hindering, as he and I, in concert, might have done, thoſe affairs from languiſhing, in the manner they did ſeveral months, he furniſhed this court with an excuſe for not treating with me, till it was too late to play even a ſaving game; and he neither drove the regent to aſſiſt the chevalier, nor to declare that he would not aſſiſt him; tho it was fatal to the cauſe in general,

neral, and to the Scotch in particular, not to bring one of the two about.

It was chriſtmas one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen before the chevalier ſailed for Scotland. The battle of Dunblain had been fought, the buſineſs of Preſton was over: there remained not the leaſt room to expect any commotion in his favor among the Engliſh; and many of the Scotch, who had declared for him, began to grow cool in the cauſe. No proſpect of ſucceſs could engage him in this expedition: but it was become neceſſary for his reputation. The Scotch on one ſide ſpared not to reproach him,

I think unjuſtly, for his delay; and the French, on the other, were extremely eager to have him gone. Some of thoſe who knew little of britiſh affairs imagined, that his preſence would produce miraculous effects. You muſt not be ſurpriſed at this. As near neighbours as we are, ninety nine in an hundred among the French are as little acquainted with the inſide of our iſland, as with that of Japan. Others of them were uneaſy to ſee him ſkulking about in France, and to be told of it every hour by the earl of STAIR. Others again imagined, that he might do their buſineſs by going into Scotland, tho he ſhould

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not do his own: that is, they flattered themſelves, that he might keep a war for ſome time alive, which would employ the whole attention of our government; and for the event of which they had very little concern. Unable from their natural temper, as well as their habits, to be true to any principle, they thought and acted in this manner, whilſt they affected the greateſt friendſhip to the king, and whilſt they really did deſire to enter into new and more intimate engagements with him. Whilſt the pretender continued in France they could neither avow him, nor favor his cauſe: if he once ſet his foot on Scotch

ground, they gave hopes of indirect aſſiſtance: and if he could maintain himſelf in any corner of the iſland, they could look upon him, * it was ſaid, as a king. This was their language to us. To the britiſh miniſter they denied, they forſwore, they renounced; and yet the † man of the beſt head in all their councils, being aſked by lord STAIR what they intended to do, anſwered before he was aware, that they pretended to be leuters. I leave you to judge, how this ſlip was taken up.

* Diſcourſe of Abbé D'ESTREES, afterwards archbiſhop of Cambray.

† Marq. D'HUXELLES.

As ſoon as I received advice that the chevalier was ſailed from Dunkirk, I renewed, I redoubled all my applications. I neglected no means, I forgot no argument which my underſtanding could ſuggeſt to me. What the duke of ORMOND reſted upon, you have ſeen already: and I doubt very much whether lord MAR, if he had been here in my place, would have been able to employ meaſures more effectual than thoſe which I made uſe of. I may, without any imputation of arrogance, compare myſelf on this occaſion with his lordſhip, ſince there was nothing in the management of this affair above my degree of

capacity; nothing equal, either in extent or difficulty, to the buſineſs which he was a ſpectator of, and which I carried on, when we were ſecretaries of ſtate together under the late queen.

THE king of FRANCE, who was not able to furniſh the pretender with money himſelf, had writ ſome time before his death to his grandſon, and had obtained a promiſe of four hundred thouſand crowns from the king of SPAIN. A ſmall part of this ſum had been received by the queen's treaſurer at St. Germain's, and had been either ſent to Scotland, or employed to defray the expences which

were

were daily making on the coaſt. I preſſed the ſpaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, I ſolicited, by LAWLESS, ALBERONI at Madrid; and I found * another more private and more promiſing way of applying to him. I took care to have a number of officers picked out of the iriſh troops, which ſerve in that country; their routs were given them, and I ſent a ſhip to receive and tranſport them. The money came in ſo ſlowly, and in ſuch trifling ſums, that it turned to little account; and the officers were on their way when the chevalier returned from Scotland.

* Marquis MONTI.

In the ſummer, endeavours had been uſed to prevail on the king of Sweden to tranſport, from Gottenburg, the troops he had in that neighbourhood into Scotland, or into the north of England. He had excuſed himſelf, not becauſe he diſliked the propoſition, which, on the contrary, he thought agreeable to his intereſt: but for reaſons of another kind. Firſt, becauſe the troops at hand for this ſervice conſiſted in horſe, not in foot, which had been aſked, and which were alone proper for ſuch an expedition: ſecondly, becauſe a declaration of this ſort might turn the proteſtant princes of the empire, from whoſe offices he had ſtill ſome proſpect

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of aſſiſtance, againſt him: and thirdly, becauſe altho he knew that the king of GREAT BRITAIN was his enemy, yet they were not in war together, nor had the latter acted yet a while openly enough againſt him to juſtify ſuch a rupture. At the time I am ſpeaking of, theſe reaſons were removed by the king of SWEDEN's being beat out of the empire, by the little conſequence which his management of the proteſtant princes was to him, and by the declaration of war which the king as elector of Hanover made. I took up this negotiation therefore again. The regent appeared to come into it. He ſpoke fair to the baron de SPAR, who preſſed him

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on his ſide, as I preſſed him on mine, and promiſed, beſides the arrears of the ſubſidy due to the Swedes, an immediate advance of fifty thouſand crowns for the enterpriſe on Britain. He kept the officer, who was to be diſpatched, I know not how long booted; ſometimes on pretence, that in the low ſtate of his credit he could not find bills of exchange for the ſum, and ſometimes on other pretences; and by theſe delays he evaded his promiſe. The French were very frank in declaring, that they could give us no money, and that they would give us no troops. Arms, ammunition, and connivance, they made us hope for. The latter in ſome de-

degree we might have had, perhaps; but to what purpoſe was it to connive, when by a multitude of little tricks they avoided furniſhing us with arms and ammunition, and when they knew that we were utterly unable to furniſh ourſelves with them? I had formed the deſign of engaging french privateers in the pretender's ſervice. They were to have carried whatever we ſhould have had to ſend to any part of Britain in their firſt voyage, and after that, to have cruiſed under his commiſſion. I had actually agreed for ſome, and it was in my power to have made the ſame bargains with others. Sweden on one ſide, and Scotland on the other, would

would have afforded them retreats: and if the war had been kept up in any part of the mountains, I conceive the execution of this deſign would have been of the greateſt advantage to the pretender. It failed, becauſe no other part of the work went on. He was not above ſix weeks in his ſcotch expedition, and theſe were the things I endeavoured to bring to bear in his abſence. I had no great opinion of my ſucceſs before he went; but when he had made the laſt ſtep which it was in his power to make, I reſolved to ſuffer neither him nor the Scotch to be any longer bubbles of their own credulity, and of the ſcandalous artifice of this court. It would be tedious

to

to enter into a longer narrative of all the uſeleſs pains I took. To conclude therefore; in a converſation which I had with the M. D'Huxelles, I took occaſion to declare, that I would not be the inſtrument of amuſing the Scotch; and that ſince I was able to do them no other ſervice, I would at leaſt inform them, that they muſt flatter themſelves no longer with hopes of ſuccour from France. I added, that I would ſend them veſſels, which with thoſe already on the coaſt of Scotland might ſerve to bring off the pretender, the earl of Mar, and as many others as poſſible. The marſhal approved my reſolution, and adviſed me to execute

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it as the only thing which was left to do. On this occaſion he ſhewed no reſerve, he was very explicite; and yet in this very point of time, the promiſe of an order was obtained, or pretended to be obtained, from the regent, for delivering thoſe ſtores of arms and ammunition which belonged to the chevalier, and which had been put into the french magazines when Sir GEORGE BYNG came to Havre. CASTEL BLANCO is a Spaniard who married a daughter of lord MELFORD, and who under that title ſet up for a medler in engliſh buſineſs. I cannot juſtly tell whether the honor of obtaining this promiſe was aſcribed to him,

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to the junto in the bois de Boulogne, or to any one elſe. I ſuppoſe they all aſſumed a ſhare of the merit. The project was, that theſe ſtores ſhould be delivered to CASTEL BLANCO; that he ſhould enter into a recogniſance to carry them to Spain, and from thence to the Weſt Indies; that I ſhould provide a veſſel for this purpoſe, which he ſhould appear to hire or buy; and that when ſhe was at ſea ſhe ſhould ſail directly for Scotland. You cannot believe that I reckoned much on the effect of this order: but, accuſtomed to concur in meaſures, the inutility of which I ſaw evidently enough, I concurred in this likewiſe. The

neceſſary care was taken, and in a fortnight's time the ſhip was ready to ſail, and no ſuſpicion of her belonging to the chevalier, or of her deſtination, was gone abroad.

As this event made no alteration in my opinion, it made none in the diſpatches which I prepared and ſent to Scotland. In them I gave an account of what was in negotiation. I explained to him what might be hoped for in time, if he was able to maintain himſelf in the mountains without the ſuccours he demanded from France. But from France, I told him plainly, that it was in vain to expect the leaſt part of them. In

ſhort,

ſhort, I concealed nothing from him. This was all I could do to put the chevalier and his council in a condition to judge what meaſures to take: but theſe diſpatches never came to his hands. He was ſailed from Scotland juſt before the gentleman, whom I ſent, arrived on the coaſt. He landed at Graveline about the twenty ſecond of February; and the firſt orders he gave, were to ſtop all the veſſels which were going on his account to the country from whence he came.

I saw him the morning after his arrival at St. Germains, and he received me with open arms. I had been, as ſoon as we

heard of his return, to acquaint the french court with it. They were not a little uneaſy; and the firſt thing which the M. D'HUXELLES ſaid to me upon it was, that the chevalier ought to proceed to Bar with all the diligence poſſible, and to take poſſeſſion of his former aſylum before the duke of LORRAIN had time to deſire him to look out for a reſidence ſome where elſe. Nothing more was meaned by this propoſal, than to get him out of the dominions of France immediately. It was not in my mind averſe to it for other reaſons. Nothing could be more diſadvantageous to him than to be obliged to paſs the Alpes, or to reſide in the papal ter-

territory on this ſide of them. Avignon was already named for his retreat in common converſation; and I know not whether from the time he left Scotland, he ever thought of any other. I imagined, that by ſurpriſing the duke of LORRAIN we ſhould furniſh that prince with an excuſe to the king, and to the emperor; that we might draw the matter into length, and gain time to negotiate ſome other retreat, than that of Avignon, for the chevalier. The duke's good will there was no room to doubt of; and by what the prince of VAUDEMONT told me at Paris ſome time afterwards, I am apt to think we ſhould have ſucceeded. In all

events it could not be wrong to try every meaſure, and the pretender would have gone to Avignon with much better grace, when he had done, in the ſight of the world, all he could to avoid it.

I FOUND him in no diſpoſition to make ſuch haſte: he had a mind, on the contrary, to ſtay ſome time at St. Germains, and in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to have a private meeting with the regent. He ſent me back to Paris to ſolicit this meeting. I writ, I ſpoke to the marſhal D'HUXELLES, I did my beſt to ſerve him in his own way. The marſhal anſwered me by word of mouth, and by letter.

ter. He refuſed me by both. I remember he added this circumſtance, that he found the regent in bed, and acquainted him with what the chevalier deſired; that the regent roſe up in a paſſion, ſaid that the things which were aſked were puerilities, and ſwore that he would not ſee him. I returned without having been able to ſucceed in my commiſſion: and, I confeſs, I thought the want of ſucceſs on this occaſion no great misfortune.

It was two or three o'clock on the ſunday or monday morning when I parted from the pretender. He acquieſced in the determination of the regent,

and declared that he would inſtantly ſet out for Lorrain: his trunks were packed, his chaiſe was ordered to be at the door at five, and I ſent to Paris to acquaint the miniſter that he was gone. He aſked me how ſoon I ſhould be able to follow him, gave me commiſſions for ſome things, which he deſired I ſhould bring after him; and, in a word, no Italian ever embraced the man he was going to ſtab, with greater ſhew of affection and confidence.

INSTEAD of taking poſt for Lorrain, he went to the little houſe in the bois de Boulogne, where his female miniſters reſided; and there he continued lurk-

lurking for ſeveral days, and pleaſing himſelf with the air of myſtery and buſineſs, whilſt the only real buſineſs, which he ſhould have had at that time, lay neglected. He ſaw the ſpaniſh and ſwediſh miniſters in this place. I cannot tell, for I never thought it worth aſking, whether he ſaw the duke of ORLEANS: poſſibly he might. To have been teiſed into ſuch a ſtep, which ſignified nothing, and which gave the cabal an air of credit and importance, is agreeable enough to the levity of his royal highneſs's character.

THE thurſday following the duke of ORMOND came to ſee me, and after the compliment of

telling me, that he believed I ſhould be ſurpriſed at the meſſage he brought, he put into my hands a note to himſelf, and a little ſcrip of paper directed to me, and drawn in the ſtyle of a juſtice of peace's warrant. They were both in the chevalier's hand-writing, and they were dated on the tueſday, in order to make me believe that they had been writ on the road, and ſent back to the duke: his grace dropped in our converſation, with great dexterity, all the inſinuations proper to confirm me in this opinion. I knew at this time his maſter was not gone; ſo that he gave me two very riſible ſcenes, which are frequently to be met with when

when ſome people meddle in buſineſs; I mean that of ſeeing a man labor with a great deal of aukward artifice to make a ſecret of a nothing, and that of ſeeing yourſelf taken for a bubble when you know as much of the matter, as he who thinks that he impoſes on you.

I CANNOT recollect preciſely the terms of the two papers. I remember that the kingly laconic ſtyle of one of them, and the expreſſion of having no farther occaſion for my ſervice, made me ſmile. The other was an order to give up the papers in my office; all which might have been contained in a letter-caſe of a moderate ſize. I gave

gave the duke the ſeals, and ſome papers which I could readily come at. Some others, and indeed all ſuch as I had not deſtroyed, I ſent afterwards to the chevalier: and I took care to convey to him, by a ſafe hand, ſeveral of his letters, which it would have been very improper the duke ſhould have ſeen. I am ſurpriſed that he did not reflect on the conſequence of my obeying his order literally. It depended on me to have ſhewn his general what an opinion the chevalier had of his capacity. I ſcorned the trick; and would not appear piqued, when I was far from being angry. As I gave up, without ſcruple, all the papers which remained in

my

my hands, becauſe I was determined never to make uſe of them; ſo I confeſs to you, that I took a ſort of pride in never aſking for thoſe of mine which were in the pretender's hands: I contented myſelf with making the duke underſtand how little need there was to get rid of a man in this manner, who had made the bargain which I had done at my engagement; and with taking this firſt opportunity to declare, that I would never more have to do with the pretender or his cauſe.

THAT I might avoid being queſtioned and quoted in the moſt curious and the moſt babling town in the world, I related what

what had paſſed to three or four of my friends, and hardly ſtirred abroad, during a fortnight, out of a little lodging which very few people knew of. At the end of this term the marſhal of BERWIC came to ſee me, and aſked me what I meaned, to confine my ſelf to my chamber, when my name was trumpeted about in all the companies of Paris, and the moſt infamous ſtories were ſpread concerning me. This was the firſt notice I had, and it was ſoon followed by others. I appeared immediately in the world, and found there was hardly a ſcurrilous tongue which had not been let looſe on my ſubject; and that thoſe perſons, whom the duke

of ORMOND and earl of MAR muſt influence, or might ſilence, were the loudeſt in defaming me.

PARTICULAR inſtances wherein I had failed were cited; and, as it was the faſhion for every jacobite to affect being in the ſecret, you might have found a multitude of vouchers to facts, which, if they had been true, could in the nature of them be known to very few perſons.

THIS method, of beating down the reputation of a man by noiſe and impudence, impoſed on the world at firſt, convinced people who were not acquainted with me, and ſtaggered even my friends. But it ceaſed in a few days

days to have any effect againſt me. The malice was too groſs to paſs upon reflection. Theſe ſtories died away almoſt as faſt as they were publiſhed, for this very reaſon, becauſe they were particular.

THEY gave out, for inſtance, that I had taken to my own uſe a very great ſum of the cheva-lier's money, when it was notorious that I had ſpent a great ſum of my own in his ſervice; and never would be obliged to him for a farthing: in which caſe, I believe, I was ſingle. Upon this head it was eaſy to appeal to a very honeſt gentleman, the queen's treaſurer at St. Germains, through whoſe hands,

and

and not through mine, went the very little money which the chevalier had.

THEY gave out, that whilſt he was in Scotland he never heard from me, tho it was notorious that I ſent him no leſs than five expreſſes during the ſix weeks which he conſumed in this expedition. It was eaſy, on this head, to appeal to the perſons, to whom my diſpatches had been committed.

THESE lies, and many others of the ſame ſort, which were founded on particular facts, were diſproved by particular facts, and had not time, at leaſt at Paris, to make any impreſſion. But the principal crime, with

which

which they charged me then, and the only one which ſince that time they have inſiſted upon, is of another nature. This part of their accuſation is general, and it cannot be refuted without doing what I have done above, deducing ſeveral facts, comparing theſe facts together, and reaſoning upon them: nay, that which is worſe, is, that it cannot be fully refuted without the mention of ſome facts, which, in my preſent circumſtances, it would not be very prudent, tho I ſhould think it very lawful for me, to divulge. You ſee that I mean the ſtarving the war in Scotland, which it is pretended might have been ſupported, and might have ſuc-

ceeded

ceeded too, if I had procured the ſuccours which were aſked, nay, if I had ſent a little powder. This the jacobites, who affect moderation and candor, ſhrug their ſhoulders at: they are ſorry for it, but lord BOLINGBROKE can never waſh himſelf clean of this guilt; for theſe ſuccours might have been obtained: and a proof that they might, is, that they were ſo by others. Theſe people leave the cauſe of this miſmanagement doubtful, between my treachery and my want of capacity. The pretender, with all the falſe charity and real malice of one who ſets up for devotion, attributes all his misfortunes to my negligence.

THE letters which were writ by my ſecretary, above a year ago, into England; the marginal notes which have been made ſince to the letter from Avignon; and what is ſaid above, have ſet this affair in ſo clear a light, that whoever examines, with a fair intention, muſt feel the truth, and be convinced by it. I cannot, however, forbear to make ſome obſervations on the ſame ſubject here. It is even neceſſary that I ſhould do ſo in the deſign of making this diſcourſe the foundation of my juſtification to the tories at preſent, and to the whole world in time.

THERE is nothing which my ene-

enemies apprehend ſo much as my juſtification: and they have reaſon. But they may comfort themſelves with this reflection, that it will be a misfortune, which will accompany me to my grave, that I ſuffered a chain of accidents to draw me into ſuch meaſures and ſuch company; that I have been obliged to defend myſelf againſt ſuch accuſations and ſuch accuſers; that, by aſſociating with ſo much folly, and ſo much knavery, I am become the victim of both; that I was diſtreſſed by the former, when the latter would have been leſs grievous to me, ſince it is much better in buſineſs to be yoked to knaves than fools; and that

I put into their hands the means of loading me, like the ſcape-goat, with all the evil conſequences of their folly.

In the firſt letters which I received from the earl of Mar, he writ for arms, for ammunition, for money, for officers, and all things frankly, as if theſe things had been ready, and I had engaged to ſupply him with them, before he ſet up the ſtandard at the brae of Mar: whereas our condition could not be unknown to his lordſhip; and you have ſeen that I did all I could to prevent his reckoning on any aſſiſtance from hence. As our hopes at this court decreaſed,

his

his lordſhip roſe in his demands: and at the time when it was viſible that the regent intended nothing leſs than even privately and indirectly to ſupport the Scotch, the pretender and the earl of MAR writ for regular forces and a train of artillery; which was in effect to inſiſt that France ſhould enter into a war for them. I might, in anſwer to the firſt inſtances, have aſked lord MAR, what he did in Scotland? and what he meaned by drawing his countrymen into a war at this time, or at leaſt upon this foot? He; who had dictated not long before a memorial, wherein it was aſſerted, that to have a proſpect of ſucceeding in this enter-

priſe there muſt be an univerſal inſurrection, and that ſuch an inſurrection was in no ſort probable, unleſs a body of troops was brought to ſupport it? He, who thought that the conſequence of failing, when the attempt was once made, muſt be the utter ruin of the cauſe, and the loſs of the britiſh liberty? He, who concurred in demanding as a pis-aller, and the leaſt which could be inſiſted on, arms, ammunition, artillery, money, and officers? I ſay, I might have aſked what he meant to begin the dance when he had not the leaſt aſſurance of any ſuccour, but, on the contrary, the greateſt reaſon imaginable to believe this affair was become as

deſperate abroad by the death of the moſt chriſtian king, as it was at home by the diſcovery of the deſign, and by the meaſures taken to defeat it?.

INSTEAD of acting this part, which would have been wiſe, I took that which was plauſible. I reſolved to contribute all I could to ſupport the buſineſs, ſince it was begun. I encouraged his lordſhip as long as I had the leaſt ground for doing ſo; and I confirmed the pretender in his reſolution of going to Scotland, when he had nothing better left him to do. If I have any thing to reproach myſelf with, in the whole progreſs of the war in Scotland, it is

having encouraged lord MAR too long. But on the other hand, if I had given up the cauſe, and had writ deſpondingly to him, before this court had explained itſelf as fully as the marſhal D'HUXELLES did in the converſation which is mentioned above, it is eaſy to ſee what turn would have been given to ſuch a conduct.

THE true cauſe of all the misfortunes which happened to the Scotch, and to thoſe who took arms in the north of England, lies here; that they roſe without any previous certainty of foreign help, in direct contradiction to the ſcheme which their leaders themſelves had formed.

formed. The excuſe which I have heard made for this, is that the act of parliament for curbing the highlanders was near to be put in execution; that they would have been diſarmed, and entirely diſabled from riſing at any other time, if they had not roſe at this. You can judge better than I of the validity of this excuſe. It ſeems to me, that by management they might have gained time, and that even when they had been reduced to the dilemma ſuppoſed, they ought to have got together under pretence of reſiſting the infractions of the union, without any mention of the pretender, and have treated with the government

on

on this foot. By theſe means they might probably have preſerved themſelves in a condition of avowing their deſign when they ſhould be ſure of being backed from abroad: at the worſt they might have declared for the chevalier when all other expedients failed them. In a word, I take this excuſe not to be very good, and the true reaſon of this conduct to have been the raſhneſs of the people, and the inconſiſtent meaſures of their head.

But admitting the excuſe to be valid, it remains ſtill an undeniable truth, that this is the original fountain from whence all

all thoſe waters of bitterneſs flowed, which ſo many unhappy people have drunk of. I have ſaid already, that the neceſſity of acting was precipitated before any meaſures to act with ſucceſs had been taken; and that the neceſſity of doing ſo ſeemed to increaſe as the means of doing ſo were taken away. To whom is this to be aſcribed? Is it to be aſcribed to me, who had no ſhare in theſe affairs till a few weeks before the duke of ORMOND was forced to abandon England, and the diſcovery of the intended invaſion was publiſhed to parliament and to the world? or is it to be aſcribed to thoſe who had from the

the firſt been at the head of this undertaking?

UNABLE to defend this point, the next reſort of the jacobites is to this impudent and abſurd affirmation, that, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages under which they took arms, they ſhould have ſucceeded, if the indirect aſſiſtances, which were aſked from France, had been obtained: nay, that they ſhould have been able to defend the highlands, if we had ſent them a little powder. Is it poſſible that a man ſhould be wounded with ſuch blunt weapons? Much more than powder was aſked for from the firſt; and I have already ſaid, that when

when the chevalier came into Scotland, regular troops, artillery, &c. were demanded. Both he and the earl of MAR judged it impoſſible to ſtand their ground without ſuch aſſiſtance as theſe. How ſcandalous then muſt it be deemed, that they ſuffer their dependents to ſpread in the world, that for want of a little powder I forced them to abandon Scotland? The earl of MAR knows, that all the powder in France would not have enabled him to ſtay at Perth as long as he did, if he had not had another ſecurity: and when that failed him, he muſt have quitted the party, if the regent had

given

given us all that he made ſome of us expect.

But to finiſh all that I intend to ſay on a ſubject which has tired me, and perhaps you: the jacobites affirm that the indirect aſſiſtances, which they deſired, might have been obtained: and I confeſs, that I am inexcuſable if this fact be true. To prove it, they appeal to the little politicians of whom I have ſpoken ſo often. I affirm, on the contrary, that nothing could be obtained here to ſupport the Scotch, or to encourage the Engliſh. To prove the aſſertion, I appeal to the miniſters with whom I negotiated, and to the regent himſelf, who,

what-

whatever language he may hold in private with other people, cannot controvert with me the truth of what I advance. He excluded me formerly, that he might the more eaſily avoid doing any thing; and perhaps he has blamed me ſince, that he might excuſe his doing nothing. All this may be true, and yet it will remain true; that he would never have been prevailed upon to act directly againſt his intereſt in the only point of view which he has, I mean the crown of France, and againſt the unanimous ſenſe of all his miniſters. Suppoſe that in the time of the late queen, when ſhe had the peace in view, a party in France had im-

implored her aſſiſtance, and had applied to MARGERY FIELDING, to ISRAEL, to my lady OGLETHORPE, to Dr. BATTLE, and lieutenant general STEWART; what ſucceſs do you imagine ſuch applications would have had? The queen would have ſpoke them fair, ſhe would ſpeak otherwiſe to no body: but do you imagine ſhe would have made one ſtep in their favor? OLIVE TRANT, MAGNY, mademoiſelle CHAUSSERY, a dirty abbé BRIGAULT, and Mr. DILLON, are characters very appoſite to theſe; and what I ſuppoſe to have paſſed in England is not a whit more ridiculous than what really paſſed here.

I SAY nothing of the ſhips, which the jacobites pretend that they ſent into Scotland three weeks or a month after the pretender was returned. I believe they might have had my lord STRAFF's connivance then, as well as the regent's. I ſay nothing of the order, which they pretend to have obtained, and which I never ſaw, for the ſtores that were ſeiſed at Havre to be delivered to CASTEL BLANCO. I have already ſaid enough on this head, and you cannot have failed to obſerve, that this ſignal favour was never obtained by theſe people till the marſhal D'HUXELLES had owned to me, that nothing was to be expected from France,

and that the only thing which I could do was to endeavour to bring the pretender, the earl of MAR, and the principal perſons who were moſt expoſed, off: neither he nor I imagining that any ſuch would be left behind.

WHEN I began to appear in the world, upon the advertiſements which my friends gave me of the clamor that was raiſed againſt me, you will eaſily think I did not enter into ſo many particulars as I have done with you. I ſaid even leſs, than you have ſeen, in thoſe letters which BRINSDEN writ into England, in March and April was twelve month; and yet the clamor

ſunk immediately. The people of conſideration at this court beat it down, and the court of St. Germains grew ſo aſhamed of it, that the queen thought fit to purge herſelf of having had any ſhare in encouraging the diſcourſes which were held againſt me, or having been ſo much as let into the ſecret of the meaſure which preceded them. The provocation was great, but I reſolved to act without paſſion. I ſaw the advantage the pretender and his council, who diſpoſed of things better for me than I ſhould have done for myſelf, had given me: but I ſaw likewiſe, that I muſt improve this advantage with the utmoſt caution.

As I never imagined that he would treat me in the manner he did, nor that his miniſters could be weak enough to adviſe him to it; I had reſolved, on his return from Scotland, to follow him till his reſidence ſhould be fixed ſomewhere or other: after which, having ſerved the tories in this, which I looked upon as their laſt ſtruggle for power, and having continued to act in the pretender's affairs till the end of the term for which I embarked with him; I ſhould have eſteemed myſelf to be at liberty, and ſhould in the civileſt manner I was able have taken my leave of him. Had we parted

parted thus, I ſhould have remained in a very ſtrange ſituation during the reſt of my life: but I had examined myſelf thoroughly, I was determined, I was prepared.

On one ſide he would have thought that he had a ſort of right on any future occaſion to call me out of my retreat; the tories would probably have thought the ſame thing: my reſolution was taken to refuſe them both, and I foreſaw, that both would condemn me. On the other ſide, the conſideration of his keeping meaſures with me, joined to that of having once openly declared for him, would have created a point of ho-

nor, by which I ſhould have been tied down, not only from ever engaging againſt him, but alſo from making my peace at home. The chevalier cut this gordian knot aſunder at one blow. He broke the links of that chain which former engagements had faſtened on me, and gave me a right to eſteem myſelf as free from all obligations of keeping meaſures with him, as I ſhould have continued if I had never engaged in his intereſt. I took therefore, from that moment, the reſolution of making my peace at home, and of employing all the unfortunate experience I had acquired abroad, to undeceive my friends, and

to promote the union and the quiet of my country.

THE earl of STAIR had received a full power to treat with me whilſt I was engaged with the pretender, as I have been ſince informed. He had done me the juſtice to believe me incapable to hearken, in ſuch circumſtances, to any propoſals of that kind: and, as much friendſhip as he had for me, as much as I had for him, we entertained not the leaſt even indirect correſpondence together during that whole time. Soon afterwards he employed a perſon * to communicate to me the diſpoſition of his ma-

* SALADIN of Geneva, then at Paris.

jeſty to grant me my pardon, and his own deſire to give me, on this occaſion, all the proofs he could of his inclination in my favor. I embraced the offer, as it became me to do, with all poſſible ſenſe of the king's goodneſs, and of his lordſhip's friendſhip †. We met, we talked together, and he wrote to the court on the ſubject. The turn which the miniſters gave to this matter was, to enter into a treaty to reverſe my attainder, and to ſtipulate the conditions on which this act of grace ſhould be granted me.

† There will be added, at the end of this relation, an original letter from the earl of STAIR to Mr. CRAGGS, giving a full account of the tranſaction here mentioned.

THE notion of a treaty ſhocked me. I reſolved never to be reſtored, rather than go that way to work; and I opened myſelf without any reſerve to lord STAIR. I told him, that I looked on myſelf to be obliged in honor and in conſcience to undeceive my friends in England, both as to the ſtate of foreign affairs, as to the management of the jacobite intereſt abroad, and as to the characters of perſons; in every one of which points I knew them to be moſt groſsly and moſt dangerouſly deluded: that the treatment I had received from the pretender and his adherents would juſtify me to the world in doing this: that if I remained in

exile

exile all my life, he might be aſſured, that I would never more have to do with the jacobite cauſe; and that if I was reſtored, I ſhould give it an effectual blow, in making that apology which the pretender has put me under a neceſſity of making: that in doing this I flattered myſelf that I ſhould contribute ſomething to the eſtabliſhment of the king's government, and to the union of his ſubjects; but that this was all the merit which I could promiſe to have: that if the court believed theſe profeſſions to be ſincere, a treaty with me was unneceſſary for them; and that if they did not believe them ſo, a treaty with them was dan-

dangerous for me: that I was determined in this whole tranſaction to make no one ſtep which I would not own in the face of the world; that in other circumſtances it might be ſufficient to act honeſtly, but that in a caſe as extraordinary as mine, it was neceſſary to act clearly, and to leave no room for the leaſt doubtful conſtruction.

THE earl of STAIR, as well as Mr. CRAGGS, who arrived ſoon after in France, came into my ſenſe. I have reaſon to believe, that the king has approved it likewiſe upon their repreſentations, ſince he has been pleaſed to give me the moſt gracious aſſurances of his favor.

favor. What the effect of all this may be, in the next, or in any other ſeſſion, I know not: but this is the foot on which I have put myſelf, and on which I ſtand at the moment I write to you. The whigs may continue inveterate, and by conſequence fruſtrate his majeſty's good intentions towards me; the toriès may continue to rail at me, on the credit of ſuch enemies as I have deſcribed to you in the courſe of this relation: neither the one nor the other ſhall make me ſwerve out of the path which I have traced to myſelf.

I HAVE now led you through the ſeveral ſtages which I propoſed

poſed at firſt; and I ſhould do wrong to your good underſtanding, as well as to our mutual friendſhip, if I ſuſpected that you could hold any other language to me than that which DOLABELLA uſes to CICERO: "Satisfactum eſt jam a te vel "officio vel familiaritati; ſa- "tisfactum etiam partibus." The king, who pardons me, might complain of me, the whigs might declaim againſt me, my family might reproach me for the little regard which I have ſhewn to my own and to their intereſts; but where is the crime I have been guilty of towards my party and towards my friends? In what part of my conduct will

the tories find an excuſe for the treatment which they have given me? As tories, ſuch as they were when I left England, I defy them to find any. But here lies the ſore, and, tender as it is, I muſt lay it open. Thoſe amongſt them, who rail at me now, are changed from what they were, or from what they profeſſed themſelves to be, when we lived and acted together. They were tories then, they are jacobites now. Their objections to the courſe of my conduct whilſt I was in the pretender's intereſt are the pretence; the true reaſon of their anger is, that I renounce the pretender for my life. When you were firſt driven

into

into this intereſt, I may appeal to you for the notion which the party had. You thought of reſtoring him by the ſtrength of the tories, and of oppoſing a tory king to a whig king. You took him up as the inſtrument of your revenge and of your ambition. You looked on him as your creature, and never once doubted of making what terms you pleaſed with him. This is ſo true, that the ſame language is ſtill held to the catechumens in jacobitiſm. Were the contrary to be avowed even now, the party in England would ſoon diminiſh. I engaged on this principle when your orders ſent me to Com-

mercy, and I never acted on any other. This ought to have been part of my merit towards the tories; and it would have been ſo if they had continued in the ſame diſpoſitions. But they are changed, and this very thing is become my crime. Inſtead of making the pretender their tool, they are his. Inſtead of having in view to reſtore him on their own terms, they are laboring to do it without any terms; that is, to ſpeak properly, they are ready to receive him on his. Be not deceived: there is not a man on this ſide of the water who acts in any other manner. The church-of-England jacobite and the iriſh papiſt

ſeem

ſeem in every reſpect to have the ſame cauſe.. Thoſe on your ſide of the water, who correſpond with theſe, are to be comprehended in the ſame claſs: and from hence it is, that the clamor raiſed againſt me has been kept up with ſo much induſtry, and is redoubled on the leaſt appearance of my return home, and of my being in a ſituation to juſtify myſelf.

You have ſeen already what reaſons the pretender, and the ſeveral ſorts of people who compoſe his party here, had to get rid of me,. and to cover me to the utmoſt of their power with infamy. Their views were as ſhort in this caſe, as they are

ſeem in every reſpect to have the ſame cauſe. Thoſe on your ſide of the water, who correſpond with theſe, are to be comprehended in the ſame claſs: and from hence it is, that the clamor raiſed againſt me has been kept up with ſo much induſtry, and is redoubled on the leaſt appearance of my return home, and of my being in a ſituation to juſtify myſelf.

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in all others. They did not ſee at firſt, that this conduct would not only give me a right, but put me under a neceſſity of keeping no farther meaſures with them, and of laying the whole myſtery of their iniquity open. As ſoon as they diſcovered this, they took the only courſe which was left them, that of poiſoning the minds of the tories, and of creating ſuch prejudices againſt me whilſt I remained in a condition of not ſpeaking for myſelf, as will, they hope, prevent the effect of whatever I may ſay when I am in a condition of pleading my own cauſe. The bare apprehenſion, that I ſhall ſhew

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the world that I have been guilty of no crime, renders me criminal among theſe men: and they hold themſelves ready, being unable to reply either in point of fact or in point of reaſon, to drown my voice in the confuſion of their clamor.

THE only crimes I am guilty of, I own. I own the crime of having been for the pretender in a very different manner from thoſe, with whom I acted. I ſerved him as faithfully, I ſerved him as well as they; but I ſerved him on a different principle. I own the crime of having renounced him, and of being reſolved never to

have to do with him as long as I live. I own the crime of being determined ſooner or later, as ſoon as I can, to clear myſelf of all the unjuſt aſperſions which have been caſt upon me; to undeceive by my experience as many as I can of thoſe tories who may have been drawn into error; and to contribute, if ever I return home, as far as I am able, to promote the national good of Britain without any other regard. Theſe crimes do not, I hope, by this time appear to you to be of a very black dye. You may come, perhaps, to think them virtues, when you have read and conſidered what remains to be

ſaid;

ſaid; for before I conclude, it is neceſſary that I open one matter to you, which I could not weave in ſooner without breaking too much the thread of my narration. In this place, unmingled with any thing elſe, it will have, as it deſerves to have, your whole attention.

WHOEVER compoſed that curious piece of falſe fact, falſe argument, falſe engliſh, and falſe eloquence, the letter from Avignon, ſays, that I was not thought the moſt proper perſon to ſpeak about religion. I confeſs I ſhould be of his mind, and ſhould include his patrons in my caſe, if the practice of it was to be re-

commended: for ſurely it is unpardonable impudence to impoſe by precept what we do not teach by example. I ſhould be of the ſame mind, if the nature of religion was to be explained, if it's myſteries were to be fathomed, and if this great truth was to be eſtabliſhed, that the church of England has the advantage over all other churches in purity of doctrine, and in wiſdom of diſcipline. But nothing of this kind was neceſſary. This would have been the taſk of reverend and learned divines. We of the laity had nothing more to do, than to lay in our claim that we could never ſubmit to be governed by

by a prince who was not of the religion of our country. Such a declaration could hardly have failed of ſome effect towards opening the eyes and diſpoſing the mind even of the pretender. At leaſt, in juſtice to ourſelves, and in juſtice to our party, we who were here ought to have made it; and the influence of it on the pretender ought to have become the rule of our ſubſequent conduct.

In thinking in this manner I think no otherwiſe now, than I have always thought: and I cannot forget, nor you neither, what paſſed when, a little before the death of the queen, letters were conveyed from the

chevalier to ſeveral perſons, to myſelf among others. In the letter to me, the article of religion was ſo aukwardly handled, that he made the principal motive of the confidence we ought to have in him to conſiſt in his firm reſolution to adhere to popery. The effect which this epiſtle had on me was the ſame which it had on thoſe tories to whom I communicated it at that time; it made us reſolve to have nothing to do with him.

SOME time after this I was aſſured by ſeveral, and I make no doubt but others have been ſo too, that the chevalier at the bottom was not a bigot:

that whilſt he remained abroad and could expect no ſuccour, either preſent or future, from any princes but thoſe of the roman catholic communion, it was prudent, whatever he might think, to make no demonſtration of a deſign to change: but that his temper was ſuch, and he was already ſo diſpoſed, that we might depend on his compliance with what ſhould be deſired of him, if ever he came amongſt us, and was taken from under the wing of the queen his mother. To ſtrengthen this opinion of his character, it was ſaid that he had ſent for Mr. LESLEY over; that he allowed him to celebrate the church of Eng-

England ſervice in his family; and that he had promiſed to hear what this divine ſhould repreſent on the ſubject of religion to him. When I came abroad, the ſame things, and much more, were at firſt inſinuated to me; and I began to let them make impreſſion upon me, notwithſtanding what I had ſeen under his hand. I would willingly flatter myſelf, that this impreſſion diſpoſed me to incline to jacobitiſm, rather than allow that the inclination to jacobitiſm diſpoſed me eaſily to believe what, upon that principle, I had ſo much reaſon to wiſh might be true. Which was the cauſe, and which the effect, I cannot well determine: perhaps they

they did mutually occaſion each other. Thus much is certain, that I was far from weighing this matter as I ought to have done, when the ſolicitation of my friends and the perſecution of my enemies precipitated me into engagements with the pretender.

I was willing to take it for granted, that ſince you were as ready to declare, as I believed you at that time, you muſt have had entire ſatisfaction on the article of religion. I was ſoon undeceived; this ſtring had never been touched. My own obſervation, and the unanimous report of all thoſe who from his infancy have approached the pretender's perſon,

ſon, ſoon taught me how difficult it is to come to terms with him on this head, and how unſafe to embark without them.

His religion is not founded on the love of virtue and the deteſtation of vice; on a ſenſe of that obedience which is due to the will of the Supreme Being; and a ſenſe of thoſe obligations which creatures formed to live in a mutual dependance on one another lie under. The ſpring of his whole conduct is fear. Fear of the horns of the devil, and of the flames of hell. He has been taught to believe, that nothing but a blind ſubmiſſion to the church of Rome, and a ſtrict ad-

adherence to all the terms of that communion, can ſave him from theſe dangers. He has all the ſuperſtition of a capuchin; but I found on him no tincture of the religion of a prince. Do not imagine that I looſe the reins to my imagination, or that I write what my reſentments dictate: I tell you ſimply my opinion. I have heard the ſame deſcription of his character made by thoſe who know him beſt; and I converſed with very few among the roman catholics themſelves, who did not think him too much a papiſt.

NOTHING gave me, from the beginning, ſo much uneaſineſs

as the conſideration of this part of his character, and of the little care which had been taken to correct it. A true turn had not been given to the firſt ſteps which were made with him. The tories, who engaged afterwards, threw themſelves as it were at his head. He had been ſuffered to think that the party in England wanted him as much as he wanted them. There was no room to hope for much compliance on the head of religion, when he was in theſe ſentiments, and when he thought the tories too far advanced to have it in their power to retreat: and little dependance was at any time to be placed on the promiſes of a man

man capable of thinking his damnation attached to the obſervance, and his ſalvation to the breach of, theſe very promiſes. Something, however, was to be done: and I thought that the leaſt which could be done was, to deal plainly with him, and to ſhew him the impoſſibility of governing our nation by any other expedient, than by complying with that which would be expected from him as to his religion. This was thought too much by the duke of ORMOND and Mr. LESLIE; altho the duke could be no more ignorant than the miniſter, how ill the latter had been uſed, how far the chevalier had been from keeping the

word

word which he had given, and on the faith of which Mr. LESLIE had come over to him. They both knew, that he not only refuſed to hear himſelf, but that he ſheltered the ignorance of his prieſts, or the badneſs of his cauſe, or both, behind his authority, and abſolutely forbid all diſcourſe concerning religion. The duke ſeemed convinced that it would be time enough to talk of religion to him when he ſhould be reſtored, or, at ſooneſt, when he ſhould be landed in England; that, the influence under which he had lived being at a diſtance, the reaſonableneſs of what we might propoſe, joined to the apparent neceſſity which would

would then ſtare him in the face, could not fail to produce all the effects which we could deſire.

To me this whole reaſoning appeared fallacious. Our buſineſs was not to make him change appearances on this ſide of the water, but to prepare him to give thoſe which would be neceſſary on the other: and there was no room to hope that if we could gain nothing on his prejudices here, we ſhould be able to overcome them in Britain. I would have argued juſt as the duke of Ormond and Leslie, if I had been a papiſt; and I ſaw well enough that ſome people about him, for in a great dearth of abi-

lity there was cunning to be met with, affected nothing more than to keep off all diſcourſe of religion. To my apprehenſion it was exceeding plain that we ſhould find, if we were once in England, the neceſſity of going forward at any rate with him much greater, than he would find that of complying with us. I thought it an unpardonable fault to have taken a formal engagement with him, when no previous ſatisfaction had been obtained on a point, at leaſt as eſſential to our civil as to our religious rights; to the peace of the ſtate, as to the proſperity of the church: and I looked on this fault to be aggravated by every day's delay. Our ſilence was unfair, both

to the chevalier, and to our friends in England. He was induced by it to believe, that they would exact far leſs from him, than we knew they expected: and they were confirmed in an opinion of his docility, which we knew to be void of all foundation. The pretence of removing that influence, under which he had lived, was frivolous, and ſhould never have been urged to me, who ſaw plainly, that, according to the meaſures purſued by the very perſons who urged it, he muſt be environed in England by the ſame people that ſurrounded him here; and that the court of St. James's would be conſtituted, if ever he was reſtored,

in the ſame manner as that of St. Germains was.

WHEN the draught of a declaration, and other papers which were to be diſperſed in Great Britain, came to be ſettled, it appeared that my apprehenſion and diſtruſt were but too well founded. The pretender took exception againſt ſeveral paſſages, and particularly againſt thoſe, wherein a direct promiſe of ſecuring the churches of England and Ireland was made. He was told, he ſaid, that he could not in conſcience make ſuch a promiſe: and, the debate being kept up a little while, he aſked me with ſome warmth, why the

the tories were ſo deſirous to have him, if they expected thoſe things from him which his religion did not allow? I left theſe draughts, by his order, with him, that he might conſider and amend them. I cannot ſay that he ſent them to the queen to be corrected by her confeſſor and the reſt of her council: but I firmly believe it. Sure I am, that he took time ſufficient to do this; before he ſent them from Bar, where he then was, to Paris, whither I was returned. When they were digeſted in ſuch a manner as ſatisfied his caſuiſts, he made them be printed: and my name was put to the declaration, as if the original had

been ſigned by me. I had hitherto ſubmitted my opinion to the judgment of others; but on this occaſion I took advice from myſelf. I declared to him, that I would not ſuffer my name to be at the bottom of this paper. All the copies which came to my hands I burnt, and another was printed off, without any counterſigning.

THE whole tenor of the amendments was one continued inſtance of the groſſeſt bigotry; and the moſt material paſſages were turned with all the jeſuitical prevarication imaginable. As much as it was his intereſt, at that time, to cultivate the reſpect which many of the

tories

tories really had for the memory of the late queen, and which many others affected as a farther mark of their oppoſition to the court, and to the whig party; as much as it was his intereſt to weave the honor of her name into his cauſe, and to render her, even after her death, a party to the diſpute; he could not be prevailed upon to give her that character which her enemies allowed her, nor to make uſe of thoſe expreſſions in ſpeaking of her, which, by the general manner of their application, are come to be little more than terms of reſpect and words of form, proper in the ſtyle of public acts. For inſtance:

She was called in the original draught "his ſiſter of glo-"rious and bleſſed memory." In that which he publiſhed, the epithet of "bleſſed" was left out. Her eminent juſtice and her exemplary piety were occaſionally mentioned. In lieu of which he ſubſtituted a flat, and, in this caſe, an invidious expreſſion, "her inclinations to "juſtice."

Not content with declaring her neither juſt nor pious in this world, he did little leſs than declare her damned in the other, according to the charitable principles of the church of Rome.

"When

"WHEN it pleaſed almighty "God to take her to himſelf," was the expreſſion uſed in ſpeaking of the death of the queen. This he eraſed, and inſtead thereof inſerted theſe words: "when it pleaſed almighty "God to put a period to her "life."

HE graciouſly allowed the univerſities to be nurſeries of loyalty; but did not think that it became him to ſtyle them "nur-"ſeries of religion."

SINCE his father paſſes already for a ſaint, and ſince reports are encouraged of miracles which they ſuppoſe to be wrought at his tomb, he might have allowed his grandfather to paſs

for a martyr: but he ſtruck out of the draught theſe words, "that bleſſed martyr who died "for his people," which were applied to king CHARLES the firſt, and would ſay nothing more of him than that "he fell "a ſacrifice to rebellion."

IN the clauſe which related to the churches of England and Ireland there was a plain and direct promiſe inſerted of "ef-"fectual proviſion for their ſe-"curity; and for their re-eſta-"bliſhment in all thoſe rights "which belong to them." This clauſe was not ſuffered to ſtand, but another was formed, wherein all mention of the church of Ireland was omitted, and no

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thing was promiſed to the church of England but the ſecurity, and "re-eſtabliſhment of all "thoſe rights, privileges, immu-"nities, and poſſeſſions which "belong to her," and wherein he had already promiſed, by his declaration of the twentieth of July, to ſecure and "protect all her members."

I NEED make no comment on a proceeding ſo eaſy to be underſtood. The drift of theſe evaſions, and of this affected obſcurity is obvious enough, at leaſt it will appear ſo by the obſervations which remain to be made.

HE was ſo afraid of admitting any words which might be conſtrued into a promiſe of his con-

conſenting to thoſe things, which ſhould be found neceſſary for the preſent or future ſecurity of our conſtitution, that in a paragraph where he was made to ſay, that he thought himſelf obliged to be ſolicitous for the proſperity of the church of England, the word proſperity was expunged; and we were left by this mental reſervation to gueſs what he was ſollicitous for. It could not be for her proſperity: that he had expunged. It muſt therefore be for her deſtruction, which in his language would have been ſtyled, her converſion.

ANOTHER remarkable proof of the ſame kind is to be found to-

towards the concluſion of the declaration. After having ſpoke of the peace and floriſhing eſtate of the kingdom, he was made to expreſs his readineſs to concert with the two houſes ſuch further meaſures, as ſhould be thought neceſſary for ſecuring the ſame to future generations. The deſign of this paragraph you ſee. He and his council ſaw it too, and therefore the word "ſecuring" was laid aſide, and the word "leaving" was inſerted in lieu of it.

ONE would imagine, that a declaration corrected in this manner might have been ſuffered to go abroad without any further precaution. But theſe papers

papers had been penned by proteſtants; and who could anſwer that there might not be ſtill ground ſufficient from the tenor of them to inſiſt on every thing neceſſary for the ſecurity of that religion? The declaration of the twentieth of July had been penned by a prieſt of the ſcotch college, and the expreſſions had been meaſured ſo as to ſuit perfectly with the conduct which the chevalier intended to hold; ſo as to leave room to diſtinguiſh him, upon future occaſions, with the help of a little pious ſophiſtry, out of all the engagements which he ſeemed to take in it. This orthodox paper was therefore to accompany the heretical paper

into the world, and no promiſe of moment was to ſtand in the latter, unleſs qualified by a reference to the former. Thus the church was to be ſecured in the rights, &c. which belong to her. How? No otherwiſe than according to the declaration of the month of July. And what does that promiſe? Security and protection to the members of this church in the enjoyment of their property. I make no doubt, but BELLARMINE, if he had been the chevalier's confeſſor, would have paſſed this paragraph thus amended. No engagement whatever taken in favor of the church of Ireland, and a happy diſtinction found between ſecuring

ing that of England, and protecting her members. Many a useful project for the destruction of heretics, and for accumulating power and riches to the see of Rome, has been established on a more slender foundation.

THE same spirit reigns through the whole. Civil and religious rights are no otherwise to be confirmed, than in conformity to the declaration of July; nay the general pardon is restrained and limited to the terms prescribed therein.

THUS is the account which I judged too important to be omitted, and which I chose to give you all together. I shall surely

ſurely be juſtified at preſent in concluding, that the tories are groſsly deluded in their opinion of this prince's character, or elſe that they ſacrifice all, which ought to be eſteemed precious and ſacred among men, to their paſſions. In both theſe caſes I remain ſtill a tory, and am true to the party. In the firſt, I endeavour to undeceive you by an experience purchaſed at my expence and for your ſakes: in the ſecond, I endeavour to prevail on you to revert to that principle from which we have deviated. You never intended, whilſt I lived amongſt you, the ruin of your country; and yet every ſtep, which you now make towards the reſtora-

tion you are ſo fond of, is a ſtep towards this ruin. No man of ſenſe, well informed, can ever go into meaſures for it, unleſs he thinks himſelf and his country in ſuch deſperate circumſtances, that nothing is left them but to chuſe of two ruins that which they like beſt.

THE exile of the royal family, under CROMWELL's uſurpation, was the principal cauſe of all thoſe misfortunes, in which Britain has been involved, as well as of many of thoſe which have happened to the reſt of Europe, during more than half a century.

THE two brothers, CHARLES and JAMES, became then linked

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ed with popery to ſuch degrees, as their different characters admitted of. CHARLES had parts; and his good underſtanding ſerved as an antidote to repel the poiſon. JAMES, the ſimpleſt man of his time, drank off the whole chalice. The poiſon met, in his compoſition, with all the fear, all the credulity, and all the obſtinacy of temper proper to increaſe it's virulence, and to ſtrengthen it's effect. The firſt had always a wrong biaſs upon him: he connived at the eſtabliſhment, and indirectly contributed to the growth of that power, which afterwards diſturbed the peace, and threatened the liberty of Europe ſo often; but he went

no farther out of the way. The oppoſition of his parliaments, and his own reflections ſtopped him here. The prince and the people were indeed mutually jealous of one another, from whence much preſent diſorder flowed, and the foundation of future evils was laid: but his good and his bad principles combating ſtill together, he maintained, during a reign of more than twenty years, in ſome tolerable degree, the authority of the crown, and the floriſhing eſtate of the nation. The laſt, drunk with ſuperſtitious and even enthuſiaſtic zeal, ran headlong into his own ruin whilſt he endeavoured to precipitate ours. His parliament and his people did as they

they could to ſave themſelves by winning him. But all was vain: he had no principle on which they could take hold. Even his good qualities worked againſt them, and his love of his country went halves with his bigotry. How he ſucceeded, we have heard from our fathers. The revolution of one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty eight ſaved the nation, and ruined the king.

Now the pretender's education has rendered him infinitely leſs fit than his uncle, and at leaſt as unfit as his father, to be king of Great Britain. Add to this, that there is no reſource in his underſtanding. Men of the beſt ſenſe find it hard to over-

come religious prejudices, which are of all the ſtrongeſt; but he is a ſlave to the weakeſt. The rod hangs like the ſword of DAMOCLES over his head, and he trembles before his mother and his prieſt. What, in the name of God, can any member of the church of England promiſe himſelf from ſuch a character? Are we by another revolution to return into the ſame ſtate from which we were delivered by the firſt? Let us take example from the roman catholics, who act very reaſonably in refuſing to ſubmit to a proteſtant prince. HENRY the fourth had at leaſt as good a title to the crown of France, as the pretender has to

ours.

ours. His religion alone ſtood in his way, and he had never been king if he had not removed that obſtacle. Shall we ſubmit to a popiſh prince, who will no more imitate HENRY the fourth in changing his religion, than he will imitate thoſe ſhining qualities which rendered him the honeſteſt gentleman, the braveſt captain, and the greateſt prince of his age? Allow me to give a looſe to my pen for a moment on this ſubject. General benevolence, and univerſal charity ſeem to be eſtabliſhed in the goſpel as the diſtinguiſhing badges of chriſtianity. How it happens I cannot tell; but ſo it is, that in all ages of the church the pro-

feſſors of chriſtianity ſeem to have been animated by a quite contrary ſpirit. Whilſt they were thinly ſcattered over the world, tolerated in ſome places, but eſtabliſhed no where, their zeal often conſumed their charity. Paganiſm, at that time the religion by law eſtabliſhed, was inſulted by many of them; the ceremonies were diſturbed, the altars thrown down. As ſoon as by the favor of CONSTANTINE their numbers were increaſed, and the reins of government were put into their hands, they began to employ the ſecular arm, not only againſt different religions, but againſt different ſects which aroſe in their own religion. A

man

man may boldly affirm, that more blood has been ſhed in the diſputes between chriſtian and chriſtian, than has ever been drawn from the whole body of them in the perſecutions of the heathen emperors, and in the conqueſts of the mahometan princes. From theſe they have received quarter, but never from one another. The chriſtian religion is actually tolerated among the mahometans, and the domes of churches and moſques ariſe in the ſame city. But it will be hard to find an example, where one ſect of chriſtians has tolerated another which it was in their power to extirpate. They have gone farther in theſe later ages: what was practiſed for-

formerly has been taught ſince. Perſecution has been reduced into ſyſtem, and the diſciples of the meek and humble JESUS have avowed a tyranny, which the moſt barbarous conquerors never claimed. The wicked ſubtilty of caſuiſts has eſtabliſhed breach of faith with thoſe who differ from us, as a duty in oppoſition to faith; and murder itſelf has been made one of the means of ſalvation. I know very well that the reformed churches have been far from going thoſe cruel lengths, which are authoriſed by the doctrine as well as example of that of Rome; tho CALVIN put a flaming ſword on the title of a french edition of his Inſtitutes with this motto,

motto, " Je ne ſuis point venu " mettre la paix, mais l'epée :" but I know likewiſe, that the difference lies in the means, and not in the aim of their policy. The church of England, the moſt humane of all of them, would root out every other religion, if it was in her power. She would not hang and burn; her meaſures would be milder, and therefore, perhaps, more effectual.

SINCE then there is this inveterate rancor among chriſtians, can any thing be more abſurd, than for thoſe of one perſuaſion to truſt the ſupreme power, or any part of it, to thoſe of another? Particularly, muſt it not be

be reputed madneſs in thoſe of our religion, to truſt themſelves in the hands of roman catholics? Muſt it not be reputed impudence in a roman catholic to expect that we ſhould? he, who looks upon us as heretics, as men in rebellion againſt a lawful, nay a divine authority, and whom it is therefore meritorious by all ſorts of ways to reduce to obedience. There are many, I know, amongſt them who think more generouſly, and whoſe morals are not corrupted by that which is called religion: but this is the ſpirit of the prieſthood, in whoſe ſcale that ſcrap of a parable, "Com-" pel them to come in," which they apply as they pleaſe, out-

weighs

weighs the whole decalogue. This will be the ſpirit of every man who is bigot enough to be under their direction: and ſo much is ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe.

DURING your laſt ſeſſion of parliament, it was expected that the whigs would attempt to repeal the occaſional bill. The ſame jealouſy continues: there is, perhaps, foundation for it. Give me leave to aſk you, upon what principle we argued for making this law, and upon what principle you muſt argue againſt the repeal of it. I have mentioned the principle in the beginning of this diſcourſe. No man ought to be truſted with any

any ſhare of power under a government, who muſt, to act conſiſtently with himſelf, endeavour the deſtruction of that very government. Shall this propoſition paſs for true when it is applied to keep a preſbyterian from being mayor of a corporation, and ſhall it become falſe, when it is applied to keep a papiſt from being king? The propoſition is equally true in both caſes; but the argument drawn from it is juſt ſo much ſtronger in the latter, than in the former caſe, as the miſchiefs, which may reſult from the power and influence of a king, are greater than thoſe which can be wrought by a magiſtrate of the loweſt order.

This

This ſeems to my apprehenſion to be argumentum ad hominem, and I do not ſee by what happy diſtinction a jacobite tory could elude the force of it.

IT may be ſaid, and it has been urged to me, that if the chevalier was reſtored, the knowledge of his character would be our ſecurity; "habet foe-"num in cornu:" there would be no pretence for truſting him, and by conſequence it would be eaſy to put ſuch reſtrictions on the exerciſe of the regal power, as might hinder him from invading or ſapping our religion and liberty. But this I utterly deny. Experience has ſhewn us how

how ready men are to court power and profit; and who can determine, how far either the tories or the whigs would comply, in order to ſecure to themſelves the enjoyment of all the places in the kingdom? Suppoſe however, that a majority of true Iſraelites ſhould be found, whom no temptation could oblige to bow the knee to BAAL; in order to preſerve the government on one hand, muſt they not deſtroy it on the other? The neceſſary reſtrictions would in this caſe be ſo many, and ſo important, as to leave hardly the ſhadow of a monarchy, if he ſubmitted to them: and if he did not ſubmit to them, theſe patriots would have no reſource

left

left but in rebellion. Thus, therefore, the affair would turn, if the pretender was reſtored. We might, moſt probably, loſe our religion and liberty by the bigotry of the prince, and the corruption of the people. We ſhould have no chance of preſerving them, but by an entire change of the whole frame of our government, or by another revolution. What reaſonable man would voluntarily reduce himſelf to the neceſſity of making an option among ſuch melancholy alternatives?

The beſt which could be hoped for, were the chevalier on the throne, would be, that a thread of favorable accidents,

improved by the wiſdom and virtue of parliament, might keep off the evil day during his reign. But ſtill the fatal cauſe would be eſtabliſhed, it would be entailed upon us, and every man would be appriſed, that ſooner or later the fatal effect muſt follow. Conſider a little what a condition we ſhould be in, both with reſpect to our foreign intereſt, and our domeſtic quiet, whilſt the reprieve laſted, whilſt the chevalier or his ſucceſſors made no direct attack upon the conſtitution.

As to the firſt, it is true indeed, that princes and ſtates are friends or foes to one another, according as the motives of ambition

bition drive them. Theſe are the firſt principles of union and diviſion amongſt them. The proteſtant powers of Europe have joined, in our days, to ſupport and aggrandiſe the houſe of Auſtria, as they did, in the days of our forefathers, to defeat her deſigns, and to reduce her power; and the moſt chriſtian king of France has more than once joined his councils, and his arms too, with the councils and arms of the moſt mahometan emperor of Conſtantinople. But ſtill there is, and there muſt continue, as long as the influence of the papal authority ſubſiſts in Europe, another general, permanent, and invariable diviſion of intereſts. The

powers of earth, like thoſe of heaven, have two diſtinct motions. Each of them rolls in his own political orb, but each of them is hurried at the ſame time round the great vortex of his religion. If this general notion be juſt, apply it to the preſent caſe. Whilſt a roman catholic holds the rudder, how can we expect to be ſteered in our proper courſe? His political intereſt will certainly incline him to direct our firſt motion right; but his miſtaken religious intereſt will render him incapable of doing it ſteddily.

As to the laſt, our domeſtic quiet; even whilſt the chevalier, and thoſe of his race con-

ceaſed their game, we ſhould remain in the moſt unhappy ſtate which human nature is ſubject to, a ſtate of doubt and ſuſpenſe. Our preſervation would depend on making him the object of our eternal jealouſy, who, to render himſelf and his people happy, ought to be that of our entire confidence.

WHILST the pretender and his ſucceſſors forbore to attack the religion and liberty of the nation, we ſhould remain in the condition of thoſe people who labor under a broken conſtitution, or who carry about them ſome chronical diſtemper. They feel a little pain at every moment; or a certain uneaſineſs,

which is ſometimes leſs tolerable than pain, hangs continually on them, and they languiſh in the conſtant expectation of dying perhaps in the ſevereſt torture.

But if the fear of hell ſhould diſſipate all other fears in the pretender's mind, and carry him, which is frequently the effect of that paſſion, to the moſt deſperate undertakings; if among his ſucceſſors a man bold enough to make the attempt ſhould ariſe, the condition of the britiſh nation would be ſtill more deplorable. The attempt ſucceeding, we ſhould fall into tyranny; for a change of religion could never be brought about by conſent; and the ſame force, that would be

be ſufficient to enſlave our conſciences, would be ſufficient for all the other purpoſes of arbitrary power. The attempt failing, we ſhould fall into anarchy; for there is no medium when diſputes between a prince and his people are arrived at a certain point; he muſt either be ſubmitted to, or depoſed.

I HAVE now laid before you even more than I intended to have ſaid when I took my pen; and I am perſuaded, that if theſe papers ever come to your hands, they will enable you to caſt up the account between party and me. Till the time of the queen's death it ſtands, I believe, even between us. The tories diſtin-

guiſhed me by their approbation, and by the credit which I had amongſt them; and I endeavoured to diſtinguiſh myſelf in their ſervice, under the immediate weight of great diſcouragement, and with the no very diſtant proſpect of great danger. Since that time the account is not ſo even, and I dare appeal to any impartial perſon, whether my ſide in it be that of the debtor. As to the opinion of mankind in general, and the judgment which poſterity will paſs on theſe matters, I am under no great concern. "Suum cuique decus "poſteritas rependit."

FROM

FROM THE

EARL OF STAIR,

His majeſty's embaſſador at Paris,

TO

JAMES CRAGGS junior, Eſq.

Secret Letter *.

Monſieur,

VOUS avés vu par ma depêche l'état de la negociation. J'ai à preſent à vous parler, en particulier, de BOLINGBROKE.

* This letter, which, with ſeveral more private and ſecret letters, had been returned to lord STAIR by his correſpondent, was communicated to the editor of theſe papers, ſome time ago, by a relation of his lordſhip: and it is copied here, exactly, from the original in his own hand-writing.

JE

Je l'ai vu chés moi le jour après l'arrivée de Mr. Pitt : et nous avons eu enſemble une converſation d'une heure et demie ; dont la ſubſtance eſt, que lui, Bolingbroke, rentroit, du meilleur de ſon cœur, dans ſon devoir envers ſon roi et ſa patrie ; et que rien au monde étoit capable de le détacher de cette reſolution, quand même ſa majeſté ne trouveroit pas à propos de lui faire grace. Qu'il étoit prêt, dès ce moment, à s'employer avec moi dans ce païs-ici pour le ſervice du roi, ſi je croyois qu'il y pouvoit être utile à quelque choſe ; et qu'il me communiqueroit tout ce qui viendroit à ſa connoiſſance qui me pourroit être de quelque uſage, et qu'il m'aideroit volontiers

tiers de toutes les lumieres qu'il pourroit avoir acquiſes par ſes habitudes ici.

Il me dit, que je ſçavois bien, par ſon caractere, qu'il ne faiſoit pas les choſes à demi ; qu'en rentrant en ſon devoir il ſe propoſoit de ſervir le roi et ſa patrie avec zèle et avec affection. Que pour cet effet, il ſe croiroit obligé, par toutes les obligations du devoir, de la reconnoiſſance, de l'honneur et de l'interêt même, d'informer le roi de tout ce que ſon experience lui pourroit ſuggérer d'utile pour le ſervice de ſa majeſté, pour l'affermiſſement de la tranquillité publique, et pour prévenir tous les projets qui ſe pour-

pourront former en faveur de ſes ennemis. Qu'il feroit tout ce qui dependroit de lui de faire rentrer les toris qui ont embraſſé le parti du prétendant dans leur devoir, en leur faiſant voir quelle eſpece d'homme le prétendant étoit ; et qu'ils ſe trompoient s'ils croyoient qu'ils pourroient avoir de la ſûreté avec lui ou pour leur liberté ou pour leur religion. Que pour pouvoir faire cela, il étoit neceſſaire, même pour le ſervice du roi, que lui, Bolingbroke, ne fût pas perdu de reputation, qu'il ne paſsât pas pour délateur.

Il inſiſta beaucoup ſur cet article. " Ce que je propoſe de " faire, me dit-il, eſt digne d'un " hon-

" honnête homme, convaincu
" de ſon erreur et touché d'un
" vrai répentir ; c'eſt ce que je
" ferai hautement et à la face
" de l'univers : et permettés-
" moi d'ajouter, que c'eſt un
" ſervice réel que je rendrai au
" roi et à ma patrie. Mais de
" conſentir à trahir des particu-
" liers, ou à réveler ce qui m'a
" été confié, ce ſeroit me deſ-
" honnorer à jamais."

Je ne dois pas oublier à vous dire, qu'outre ſon éloignement pour le prétendant, il m'a temoigné beaucoup de dépit contre la France : et je ſuis ſûr qu'il me parloit ſincerement.

Je ſerai bien-aiſe d'être inſtruit au plutôt touchant les in-

tentions du roi à ſon égard, et de ce que je dois lui promettre au nom de ſa majeſté; afin qu'il puiſſe être en état de ſe rétirer de ce païs-ici, où j'appréhende qu'il ne fait pas bon pour lui.

Pour moi; je vous avoue franchement, que je crois qu'il m'a parlé dans la ſincérité de ſon cœur; qu'il eſt reſolu de faire ſon mieux pour abattre le parti du prétendant, et pour le déracinér tout-à-fait ſi cela dependoit de lui: et il me paroit certain, qu'il n'y a perſonne qui puiſſe nuire au prétendant au point qu'il le peut faire.

A la fin de nôtre converſation, il me ſerra la main, et me dit : " Milord, ſi l'on me fait " la juſtice de croire que mes " profeſſions ſont ſinceres, plus " ils menagent ma réputation, " plus ils font le ſervice du roi. " Si au contraire ils me ſoupçon- " nent de ne pas marcher droit, " ils auront raiſon d'exiger de " moi des conditions que j'aurai " en même tems raiſon comme " un honnête homme, de refuſer. " Les difficultés que je fais de " promettre trop, peuvent ſer- " vir de garans que je tiendrai " ce à quoi je m'engage. En " tout cas, le tems et ma con- " duite uniforme convaincront " tout le monde de la droiture " de mes intentions : et il vaut

" mieux

" mieux attendre ce tems avec
" patience, quelque long qu'il
" puiſſe être, que d'arriver avec
" precipitation à ſon but en ſor-
" tant du grand chemin de
" l'honneur et de la probité."

SOME

SOME

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Present STATE of the NATION,

Principally with regard to her

TAXES and her DEBTS;

AND ON THE

CAUSES and CONSEQUENCES of them.

Mihi autem non minor curae eſt qualis reſpublica poſt mortem meam futura ſit, quam qualis hodie ſit. CIC. in LAEL.

By the late Right Honorable

HENRY ST. JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

SOME

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Preſent STATE of the NATION,

Principally with regard to her

TAXES and her DEBTS;

AND ON THE

CAUSES and CONSEQUENCES of them.

SINCE we are got out of a war, the leaſt ſucceſsful, and the moſt expenſive, that this nation ever made; after having taken part threeſcore years together, like principal actors, in all the other wars

and all the negotiations of the continent; it is time, ſurely, that we recal our attention homewards, and conſider the preſent ſtate of our own country, particularly with reſpect to her taxes and her debts; to the nature and application of the former, to the riſe and progreſs of the latter, to the neceſſity and to the means of diminiſhing both.

THE revolution of our government in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty eight makes a moſt remarkable æra in the hiſtory of Britain on many accounts, and on none more, than on that which is the ſubject of theſe papers. The public revenue, in net money, amounted,

at that time, to no more, than two millions annually; which were ſufficient to defray the ordinary expences of the crown, as well as to maintain a fleet, and a greater army than was neceſſary for the defence of the country at that time. This revenue was raiſed without any tax on land or malt, and by a very few of thoſe innumerable duties which have been ſince laid, to the oppreſſion of the landed and mercantile intereſt of the nation. Theſe duties have been ſo mortgaged too, that we are unable, at this time, to ſend a cock-boat to ſea, or to keep a ſingle centinel at Whitehall gate without a land-tax.

THE public debts, that of the bankers included, amounted to little more than three hundred thouſand pounds at the beginning of this aera. They amount now to fourſcore millions. To diſcover how this great change in our national circumſtances has been brought about is ſurely an object of reaſonable, and may be ſuch of uſeful, curioſity.

KING WILLIAM engaged in a neceſſary war with France as ſoon as he came to the throne. It was neceſſary that he ſhould maintain the revolution he had made, and aſſert his right to the crown he had acquired by the beſt of all titles, the free

gift

gift of a people whom he had delivered from impending deſtruction, from popery and ſlavery. This war might be thought neceſſary too in another reſpect.

FROM the treaty of Weſtphalia, and from the pyrenean, to the acceſſion of king WILLIAM to our throne, the power and ambition of France had grown up together, and were become exorbitant. No efforts had been made ſufficient to reduce, ſcarce any ſufficient to reſiſt, the former. No meaſures had been concerted, no preparations had been made, to diſappoint the latter in that great object,

the acquiſition of the ſpaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Bourbon. From the revolution this alarm was taken, which ſhould have been taken ſooner. The ſpirit of our court was changed, the eyes of our people were opened, and all men ſaw how neceſſary it was to preſerve, in concert with the Spaniards, the ſucceſſion of their monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, inſtead of ſuffering it to fall into that of Bourbon, which was excluded from it by the moſt ſolemn engagements.

QUEEN ANNE came to the throne at the eve of another great war, of a war againſt France

France and Spain, which her predeceſſor was ready to undertake, tho he had not actually declared it when he died, in order to procure ſome reaſonable ſatisfaction to the emperor for a ſucceſſion, which had been then loſt to his family by his own fault.

KING WILLIAM, who engaged for ſo much more in the firſt grand alliance, would engage for no more than this in the ſecond. But the private intereſt of her miniſters, the intrigues of her allies, and the raſhneſs of a party, drew the queen much further: and it muſt be confeſſed that a ſubſerviency to the

the court of Vienna, which has coſt us ſo dear, began in her time, not in king WILLIAM's, tho her heart was, what ſhe declared it to be, entirely engliſh, and tho he was cenſured, I think very unjuſtly, for too great regard to foreign intereſts and too little for thoſe of Britain.

THE war king WILLIAM waged was not very ſucceſsful: and yet, if the emperor would have conſented to ſend his ſecond ſon into Spain during the life of CHARLES the ſecond, king WILLIAM would have ſucceeded in both the objects of this war. He had maintained himſelf on the throne, and had obliged

France

France to promiſe that ſhe would not diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of it. As to the other object, no treaties of partition would have been thought neceſſary by him in that caſe; neither would this nation have had any thing more to do, when the ſpaniſh ſucceſſion was open, than to ſupport, with the concurrence of that whole nation, an auſtrian prince, who was actually on the ſpot with an auſtrian army, and who had been already declared preſumptive heir. Thus we might have had a defenſive war to make with great advantages on our ſide; and the events of the offenſive war, which we were

obliged

obliged to make afterwards, ſhew ſufficiently what would have been the ſucceſs of the other. The councils of Vienna laid us wantonly, if I may ſay ſo, under great diſadvantages: and king WILLIAM therefore reſolved, like a wiſe prince, to expoſe neither this country, nor his own, to the hard taſk of recovering the whole ſpaniſh monarchy out of the hands of PHILIP. He accommodated his ſyſtem to the circumſtances of the time; and aimed at no more now, than to force the French and Spaniards to come into ſome compoſition about the auſtrian pretenſions, about trade, about barriers, and about

effec-

effectual means to hinder a future union of France and Spain under one monarch.

THIS was all that he meaned. But they, who delighted in war becauſe they hoped to get immenſely by it, and they, who amuſed themſelves and others with vain ſpeculations about a thing very real in itſelf, about a balance of power, enſnared both England and Holland into engagements for dethroning PHILIP and ſetting up CHARLES in his room, tho we had acknowledged the former, tho the Caſtilians were ſtrongly attached to him, and tho he was in quiet poſſeſſion of the ſpaniſh dominions

minions in both hemiſpheres. Flattered by groundleſs hopes of a revolution in favor of his rival, and fluſhed by the firſt ſucceſs of our arms, this precipitate engagement was approved and ſupported by us, notwithſtanding the abſurd conduct of the emperor, and the wiſe reſerve of king WILLIAM; both of which ſhould have put us more on our guard, and have made us leſs ſanguine.

IT is perhaps worth while to make an obſervation in this place, which was made at the time we ſpeak of by Spaniards, who acknowledged PHILIP the

fifth in compliance with the will of CHARLES the ſecond, and yet were averſe to the influence and authority which France aſſumed over them. They obſerved, that CROMWELL had forced them to give their infanta to LEWIS the fourteenth, by joining his arms with thoſe of France againſt them, and that we went about to force them, half a century afterwards, by a new war, to an abſolute dependance on France.

THE court of Vienna, deſirous to acquire the italian dominions, and too indifferent about Spain and the Weſt-Indies, made her profit of our raſhneſs.

neſs. She left the whole weight of the war on England and Holland. She did worſe. She not only neglected the war by contributing little or nothing to it, except the name of Auſtria and the claims of that family; ſhe ſacrificed the ſucceſs of the common cauſe, for ſo it was called improperly enough by her, whenever any little inferior intereſt, that ſeemed to be hers more immediately, came in the way: by which ſhe not only prolonged the war, but increaſed the annual expence of it to England and Holland, without taking any ſhare in this expence on herſelf that deſerves to be mentioned.

EXPERIENCE was loſt upon us. Our political delirium continued. It grew in ſome ſort habitual by the artifice employed at home, and by the victories obtained abroad. The war languiſhed however upon the whole, notwithſtanding our utmoſt efforts; the weight of Auſtria grew every year heavier on us, whilſt that of Spain grew every year lighter on France; the Spaniards were able to defend themſelves againſt us at laſt, and the ſucceſs of our enemies in Spain made them amends for our victories in Flanders.

THE dethronement of PHILIP in favor of CHARLES was become evidently a chimerical project in the year one thouſand ſe-

ven hundred and ten, at the laſt, and it became in the following year ſo ineligible, by the death of the emperor JOSEPH, to whom his younger brother CHARLES ſucceeded, that one cannot conceive the men, who clamored for it, even then to have been in earneſt; ſince their aim, in that caſe, muſt have been to ſet the imperial and ſpaniſh crowns on the ſame head, againſt the common intereſt of Europe and the fundamental principle of the war.

BUT tho we could not conquer Spain by a war, we might have reduced the exorbitant power of France by a peace. We might have ſtripped her of that barrier wherein this exorbitant power

conſiſted chiefly; as every man, who knew what he meaned when he talked of this exorbitant power, muſt have intended. We might have laid her as open to the incurſions of her neighbours, as her neighbours were to hers; as open as ſhe had been when a prince CASIMIR, or any other general of Reitres, could penetrate, without a ſiege, and ſometimes without a battle, into the heart of her provinces.

BUT we would not do the latter, becauſe we could not do the former. We acted like men who thought that the exorbitant power of one family could not be reduced, unleſs a power as exorbitant was raiſed in another; and

who never looked back to preceding centuries to conſider the uſurpations, the tyranny, and the bigotry that the houſe of Auſtria had exerciſed in the fulneſs of her power, and would exerciſe again if ſhe was ever reſtored to the ſame.

We were diſappointed in our great political views, after two wars that had laſted twenty five years with a very ſhort interval between them. We had done our utmoſt to defeat that ſcheme of ambition France had opened to herſelf, and of danger to all her neighbours, by the pyrenean treaty: and, tho this danger affected us leſs than any other nation engaged in the alliance, we had

had exhauſted ourſelves to maintain it.

When king William entered, immediately after the revolution, on this great ſcene of action, the unincumbered condition of this nation, which has been hinted at above, was ſuch, that he might have been ſupported in it, by good management, as profuſely as he was, and even more effectually, by the revenue then ſubſiſting, by a land-tax, by the exciſe on malt, and by ſome additional ſubſidies, all of which would have been raiſed within the year. A ſcheme of this kind was prepared and offered. It was allowed to be practicable: but it was rejected for a reaſon that appeared

plauſible in political refinement, and has proved moſt pernicious in it's conſequences. It was ſaid that a new government, eſtabliſhed againſt the antient principles, and actual engagements of many, could not be ſo effectually ſecured any way, as it would be if the private fortunes of great numbers were made to depend on the preſervation of it; and that this could not be done unleſs they were induced to lend their money to the public, and to accept ſecurities under the preſent eſtabliſhment. Thus the method of funding, and the trade of ſtock-jobbing began. Thus were great companies created, the pretended ſervants, but in many reſpects

ſpects the real maſters of every adminiſtration.

I DO not pretend to determine how far the wiſdom of our legiſlature might have provided, at the beginning of the new war, againſt the growth and ſpreading of that cancerous humor, which had begun to knaw our vitals in the former. All I am to obſerve is, that, a moneyed intereſt being firmly eſtabliſhed by this time, and ſuch numbers being accuſtomed to make immenſe profit at the public expence, there is no room to wonder if we proceeded on the ſame plan during the reign of queen ANNE. We did ſo: and the debts contracted in this war being added to thoſe

of the former, the whole of our debt amounted to little leſs than fifty millions.

HAVING accumulated ſo immenſe a debt, the queen put an end to the war. She could not attempt to alter the ſyſtem of it whilſt it continued, without throwing the whole alliance into confuſion, after ſome of the principal allies had declared, on the death of JOSEPH, that they would not conſent CHARLES ſhould be king of Spain as well as emperor.

THE intereſt of Britain required, no doubt, that we ſhould turn our eyes from the continent to our own iſland, and that we ſhould improve the opportunity and the advantages which a peace

gave

give us. Whatever prejudices have been propagated induſtriouſly againſt that of Utrecht, thus much at leaſt is certain: we were obliged no longer by treaties to aſſume any other part in the affairs of the continent, than that which the immediate intereſt of our own country required. The opportunity and the means of diminiſhing taxes, reviving commerce, and paying debts were open to us.

This pacific ſcheme ought to have been purſued, no doubt, till we had retrieved our affairs, and recovered our former ſtrength in ſome good degree, and till we were prepared to take any part in future events, which our honor or intereſt might require. Nay, this

this ſcheme was the more neceſſary to be purſued; if France was left too powerful, no matter by whoſe fault, as I am ready to admit that ſhe was; and if the two branches of Bourbon were to be looked upon in this century, like the two branches of Auſtria in the laſt, as inſeparable allies, united by blood and by joint ambition. It was the more eaſy to be purſued too, becauſe a long minority was beginning in France, and many other circumſtances of characters and of ſituation, extremely favorable to it, concurred in that court and country.

THIS ſhould have been the ſcheme of our policy; but unhappily it was not. The late king,

king, as elector of Hanover, had reaſon, no doubt, to deſire the acquiſition of Bremen and Verden. Our nation contributed to it with her money, and forced it with her arms; tho it was made in contradiction to the engagements that the crown of England had taken when king WILLIAM gave his guaranty to the treaty of Travendahl: This acquiſition became the firſt link of a political chain, by which we were dragged back into new and expenſive broils, the conſequences whereof we feel at this hour.

WHEN the king acquired theſe dutchies, it became neceſſary to procure the inveſtiture of them: and I will ſay, becauſe I can demon-

monſtrate, that theſe inveſtitures might have been procured, and the emperor flattered with the acquiſition of Sicily, by meaſures as effectual, and much more conſiſtent with former treaties and the public tranquillity, than thoſe that were taken. The houſe of Auſtria ſacrificed the ſucceſs of the war to the immediate acquiſition of Naples. We ſacrificed all the advantages of the peace, to procure her that of Sicily in the manner we did procure it. I have heard it ſaid, whilſt theſe affairs were in tranſaction, that the treaty of quadruple alliance would complete that of Utrecht. But the event has ſhewn, and it was obvious to foreſee, that one of theſe treaties would

would unravel the ſyſtem of the other. If we had maintained the neutrality of Italy, as we were obliged to do by treaty, even indulging the emperor in the acquiſition of Sicily, and yielding to the houſe of Savoy the eventual ſucceſſions which we ſtipulated ſhould be given to Spain; the intention of the treaty of Utrecht would have been preſerved, and France by concurring in theſe meaſures would have ſhewn her ſincerity in maintaining the ſettlement of Europe. But when ſhe became a party to the quadruple alliance, ſhe meaned nothing more than to give the ſpaniſh branch of Bourbon an opportunity of reannexing to that crown the italian dominions.

minions: and we were groſsly her bubbles when we triumphed that ſhe entered into the quadruple alliance, and made a ſham war to oblige PHILIP to accede to it.

As long, then, as there were hopes of obtaining an extraordinary inveſtiture of Bremen and Verden, we flattered the emperor at no ſmall expence. As ſoon as it became apparent that this inveſtiture could be obtained in no other manner than it had been granted formerly, we inſulted him. We imputed to him deſigns, he has conſtantly diſowned, and we have never proved; after which we complained of his ingratitude, we threatened war, and we prepared for it by

by maintaining, with great profuſion, a ſtanding army of Heſſians in Germany. The ſame men, who complained ſo lately that France had been left too powerful by the treaty of Utrecht, and that great danger would ariſe from her cloſe connection with Spain, complained now of the too great power of the houſe of Auſtria, and of the danger that would ariſe from a good underſtanding between the emperor and king PHILIP. In ſhort, our politics were not only variable, but incomprehenſible to every man, who knew the ſtate and intereſt of Great Britain, but was not ſo well appriſed of the ſeveral turns of intereſt which were to be ſerved abroad.

WHEN

WHEN our miniſters had once departed from the ſtraight line of britiſh policy, the difficulty of returning to it became every year greater, and the inclination every year leſs. We continued buſy and buſtling in every court of Europe. We negotiated againſt the emperor in concert with France, and gave her thereby the means of regaining more of that credit and influence in the empire, which ſhe had formerly had, than ſhe could have acquired without our aſſiſtance. We contrived to make peace abroad almoſt as chargeable to us as war. Abuſes of every kind were ſuffered at home. Trade was neither eaſed nor encouraged; and the gra-

gradual payment of our debt was utterly neglected by a miniſter rather deſirous to keep his country under this oppreſſion, than ignorant of the means to deliver her from it. Whilſt we acted in this manner, France grew frugal, ſhe made the debts ſhe could not pay ſit more lightly on her, ſhe raiſed her credit, and ſhe extended her commerce. In ſhort, her ſtrength increaſed, and ours diminiſhed. We were reduced to a ſtate of weakneſs we had never felt before; and this very weakneſs was urged as a reaſon for bearing tamely the loſſes our merchants ſuſtained, and all the affronts our government received, leſt we ſhould be drawn into a war by uſing repri-

ſals, the common right of nations.

As tame as we were, the inſolence of the Spaniards, the reaſonable impatience of our merchants, and this very tameneſs of our government, made a ſea-war unavoidable, juſt before the death of the emperor CHARLES the ſixth; which event brought the principal powers of Europe into the field, ſet the whole continent in a flame, and formed one of thoſe conjunctures, wherein our honor and intereſt may oblige us to take a part, and for which therefore we ſhould alwdys be prepared.

WE were in no degree ſo prepared, after ſix or ſeven and twehty

twenty years of peace: and yet when we took a part, we took the moſt laviſh and the moſt impolitic that we could take. It was a miſerable part by ſea at firſt, and through the whole courſe of the war by land. I ſhall recall neither what we did, nor what we neglected to do; and I wiſh, for the honor of my country, that the whole may be buried in oblivion. Thus much only it is to my purpoſe to obſerve. Firſt, that our councils ſeemed to be the echoes of thoſe free-booters, TRENCK and MENTZEL, who talked of nothing leſs than conquering the two Alſatias and the three biſhoprics, and of laying Champagne waſte, whilſt all our offenſive projects on the Rhine

were daily diſappointed: and ſecondly, that we declined all overtures of peace, when the ſeat of the war was transferred, with great advantage to France, from Germany to the Netherlands, where we reſolved to wage it whether the Dutch would or no, and where we were beat on every ſpot on which my lord MARLBOROUGH had conquered.

EVERY defeat in this war, like every triumph in the laſt, became a reaſon for continuing it: and this management, when no avowable reaſon could be given for it, gave ſuſpicious and refining perſons occaſion to throw out a great deal of ſlander: for ſuch, I hope, it was. In ſhort, whatever the

reaſons were, we continued this inauſpicious war ſo long, and we puſhed it ſo far beyond our ſtrength, that we were within a few months of bankruptcy, when the French granted us, miraculouſly, the ſame terms that they would have granted two or three years before; and when they might have marched without much trouble or oppoſition, after taking Maeſtricht, into the heart of the Seven Provinces: for our laſt reſource, a muſcovite army, was too far off to have enabled ours to make a ſtand.

By making the war in the Low Countries almoſt wholly at our own expence, and without any proſpect of ſucceſs, we meaned to

cauſe ſuch a diverſion to the forces of France, as might leave Germany nothing to fear on the Rhine, and as might give time and opportunity to the empreſs queen to drive the French and Spaniards out of Lombardy. We ſacrificed ourſelves for theſe purpoſes: but in this war, as in the laſt, the court of Vienna ſacrificed nothing. From the time the French had been obliged, more by the ſickneſs of their troops and the ill conduct of their generals, than by the force of her arms, to abandon Germany, the empreſs queen ſeemed to make war juſt as it ſuited her conveniency, to ſave all the expence ſhe could in the Netherlands; to plunder all ſhe could in Italy; and

ready

to make us pay the whole immenſe ſubſidies which we gave her for both.

In the Netherlands we were outnumbered vaſtly by the deficiencies of her quotas: and in Italy, where we had thrown the Genoeſe into the arms of France and Spain, with great and juſt indignation againſt us for the treaty we had made at Worms, and had, however, obliged them to ſubmit after the battle of Placentia, we loſt the whole advantage of it by the inſatiable avarice and extreme brutality of the Auſtrians. Yet we continued our efforts on that ſide ſtill; and the ſham ſiege of Genoa, for it was no more, and the harmleſs inva-

ſions of Provence and Dauphiny had no other meaning, than to amuſe and impoſe on us in the exceſs of our zeal.

Our expences in every part of this ſtrange war, particularly in the Netherlands, were made without meaſure, becauſe without control; as they will be ſoon convinced who look into the artillery, forage, hoſpital, and other contingent accounts. The parliamentary aids from the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty excluſively, to the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty eight incluſively, amount to fifty five millions five hundred twenty two thouſand nine hundred fifty nine pounds ſixteady

ſixteen ſhillings and three pence, and the new debt we have contracted to more than thirty millions; which are near twenty millions more of debt than France has contracted in the ſame time: a ſum that will appear incredible to future generations, and is ſo almoſt to the preſent. There are three reflections to be made on this ſtate, which muſt add to our aſtoniſhment. Firſt, that the greateſt part of this vaſt expence has been granted on account of the war, chiefly ſince there remained no reaſon for continuing it; that is, ſince the time when it was in our power to have a peace at leaſt as good as that we have now obtained; and I place this aera no higher than the

year

year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty ſeven incluſively, tho I might place it higher, perhaps, on very good grounds. Secondly, that the debt contracted in it exceeds by much that of king WILLIAM's, or that of queen ANNE's war; tho both of them were much longer, and the laſt not only more widely ſpread, but carried into countries, the diſtance of which and many other circumſtances increaſed every article of our expence extraordinarily. Thirdly, that we have thrown, by our negotiations and by the late war, into the hands of the houſe of Bourbon much more dominion in Italy, than would have induced the French at Gertruydenberg to have recalled

PHILIP, and to have given up Spain and the Indies; which they were ready to do at thoſe conferences, as BUYS and VANDERDUSSEN acquainted the miniſters of the allies, in making one of their reports to that aſſembly.

BAD as our condition is, let us not deſpair. Not to deſpair of the commonwealth, whatever her condition be, is the principle of a true patriot, that is, of a faithful ſervant to his prince and country: and we may find an example to this purpoſe, which deſerves to be quoted, in a book that is in the hands of moſt people, and that, I hope, is not unread at court, I mean the duke of SULLY's Memoirs. In them

we

we find that HENRY the fourth turned his whole application to every thing, that might be uſeful or even convenient to his kingdom, without ſuffering things that happened out of it to paſs unobſerved by him, as ſoon as he had put an end to the civil wars of France, and had concluded a peace with Spain at Vervins. Is there a man, either prince or ſubject, who can read, without the moſt elevated and the moſt tender ſentiments, the language he held to SULLY at this time, when he thought himſelf dying of a great illneſs he had at Monceaux? "My friend!" ſaid he, "I have no fear of death. "You, who have ſeen me expoſe "my life ſo often, when I might

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" ſo eaſily have kept out of dan-
" ger, know this better than any
" man. But I muſt confeſs that
" I am unwilling to die, before
" I have raiſed this kingdom to
" the ſplendor I have propoſed
" to myſelf; and before I have
" ſhewn my people that I love
" them like my children, by diſ-
" charging them from a part of
" the taxes that have been laid
" on them, and by governing
" them with gentleneſs."

THE ſtate of France was then even worſe than the ſtate of Great Britain is now: the debts as heavy, many of the provinces entirely exhauſted, and none of them in a condition of bearing any new impoſition. The ſtanding

revenues brought into the king's coffers no more than thirty millions, tho an hundred and fifty millions were raiſed on the people; ſo great were the abuſes of that government in raiſing of money: and they were not leſs in the diſpenſation of it. The whole ſcheme of the adminiſtration was a ſcheme of fraud, and all who ſerved, cheated the public, from the higheſt offices down to the loweſt, from the commiſſioners* of the treaſury down to the under-farmers and the under-treaſurers. SULLY beheld this ſtate of things, when he came to have the ſole ſuperintendency of affairs, with horror. He was

* Conſeilliers dans le conſeil des finances.

ready to deſpair: but he did not deſpair. Zeal for his maſter, zeal for his country, and this very ſtate ſeemingly ſo deſperate, animated his endeavours: and the nobleſt thought, that ever entered into the mind of a miniſter, entered into his. He reſolved to make, and he made, the reformation of abuſes, the reduction of expences, and a frugal management, the ſinking fund for the payment of national debts, and the ſufficient fund for all the great things he intended to do, without overcharging the people.

He ſucceeded in all. The people were immediately eaſed, trade revived, the king's coffers were

were filled, a maritime power was created, and every thing neceſſary was prepared to put the nation in a condition of executing great deſigns whenever great conjunctures ſhould offer themſelves. Such was the effect of twelve years of wiſe and honeſt adminiſtration: and this effect would have ſhewed itſelf in great enterpriſes againſt the houſe of Auſtria, more formidable in thoſe days than the houſe of Bourbon has been in ours, if HENRY the fourth had not been ſtabbed by one of thoſe aſſaſſins, into whoſe hands the intereſt of this houſe, and the frenzy of religion, had put the dagger more than once.

WHEN

WHEN we conſider, in theſe memorials, and in others which are come down to us, the deplorable condition to which France was reduced at the end of the ſixteenth century, we feel ſome of that horror which SULLY himſelf felt; and are ready to confeſs, that the ruin of that kingdom, bankruptcy, and confuſion, muſt have followed, if the opportunity, which this peaceful conjuncture gave, had not been improved immediately, and as wiſely, and as vigorouſly as it was. Shall we not ſee our own deplorable condition, and the neceſſary conſequences of it, in the ſame light? Shall we not be much more ſtrongly affected by them? Are we not as near to

bankruptcy, as the french nation was at that time, and much more ſo than they are at this time? May not confuſion follow it here, as well as there? And finally, may not the joint ambition of two branches of Bourbon, in ſome future conjuncture, produce effects as fatal, and much more ſo to us, if we continue in our preſent ſtate of impotence till ſuch a conjuncture happens, as were to be feared by France, at the time we ſpeak of, from the joint ambition of two branches of Auſtria? In ſhort, we have much to apprehend, unleſs we have the courage and the virtue to probe our domeſtic wounds to the bottom, and to apply immediately not palliative, but the moſt

moſt ſpecific remedies. If we do this; inſtead of fearing others, we may become once more formidable ourſelves. But this is certain, that they, who get firſt out of a diſtreſs common to us and to our neighbours, will give the law to the reſt.

It may be ſaid, that we have no SULLIES among us. I ſhall not take on me to determine whether we have or no. But I will venture to ſay, after SULLY himſelf, that altho good princes may be wanting to good miniſters; yet good miniſters will never be wanting to a prince, who has diſcernment enough to find them, who chuſes them for their ſuperior parts, experience, and

integrity; and who reſolves to ſupport them, as HENRY the fourth ſupported SULLY, againſt favorite miſtreſſes, the cabals of the court, and the factions of the ſtate.

IT may be ſaid again, that a king of France has power enough by the conſtitution of that government to ſupport a miniſter who checks corruption, reforms abuſes, and maintains a frugal management of the public revenue. But it may be aſked, how a miniſter, who ſhould undertake this, could be ſupported in a government like ours, where he would be ſure to have for his enemies all thoſe, who have ſhared ſo long the public ſpoils, or

who

who hope to ſhake them, and where theſe enemies would have the means and opportunities of ſupplanting him, notwithſtanding the protection of his maſter? I anſwer, by the parliament. How many miniſters have there been, to whom much national miſchief was imputed juſtly, and no one national good could be aſcribed, and who were long ſupported by the favor of the crown, and by the concurrence of the two houſes, which this favor and their own management procured them? Shall theſe ſupports be ſufficient for a wicked or a weak miniſter; and ſhall innocence and ability, with the ſame favor and better management, be reckoned for nothing? I cannot think ſo ill,

even of the preſent age, as degenerate as it is. It is degenerate no doubt: but I have heard men complain of this degeneracy, who promoted it firſt, and ſought their excuſe in it afterwards.

THE delegated power of a miniſter, under the legal prerogatives of the crown, is ſufficient to carry on a ſyſtem of reformation and frugality in the ordinary courſe of things, if the miniſter really intends it: and whenever extraordinary powers are wanting for extraordinary operations, as they muſt be in ſuch a ſtate as ours, they will be effectual, if granted; and if refuſed, they who refuſe them, not the miniſter, will ſuffer by the refuſal, and be anſwer-

anſwerable to the nation for it. The moneyed man may continue to enjoy a little more revenue by this refuſal: but his fortune will be more precarious, and more liable to ſome future reverſe. The merchant will continue to trade, the landed man to plow and ſow, without even a proſpect of being relieved from their ſervitude, not for the honeſt creditors alone, but for uſurers and ſtock-jobbers, for thoſe leeches who fill themſelves continually with the blood of the nation, and never ceaſe to ſuck it. The nation in the mean time will be reduced to the utmoſt poverty: and it behoves thoſe particularly, who have brought us ſo near it, to ſhew that this was not their

object, by concurring zealouſly with thoſe, who have uſed, and will continue to uſe their beſt endeavours to prevent it.

THE difficulties we have to ſtruggle with would not be ſo great as they are, notwithſtanding the immenſe profuſion to which the late war gave occaſion and pretence; if we did not feel in this inſtance, as we feel in others, the fatal conſequences of a precedent adminiſtration. The payment of our debts might have been eaſily provided for in that time: nay, fourteen years, which are little more than two thirds of it, would have been ſufficient to reduce them to twenty millions. If this had been done, the memory

mory of the perſon, who was at the head of that adminiſtration, and had the ſole power of it, might have deſerved honor.

LET us nouriſh in ourſelves, and cultivate in others, ſentiments more elevated than theſe, and more worthy of the britiſh genius. The greater our national diſtreſs and danger are, the greater ſhould the efforts be of every particular man to relieve his country from one, and thereby to guard it againſt the other. We are in a criſis that muſt turn either to life or death, and that cannot turn to the former unleſs remedies are applied much more effectual than thoſe of mountebanks, who find their account in

palliating evils and in prolonging diſeaſes. To palliate and to prolong would be, in our caſe, to kill, or to do ſomething worſe than kill, to break our conſtitution entirely, to render an accidental illneſs habitual and incurable.

One or two ſhillings in the pound, it is ſaid, will be leſſened this year upon land; and whatever is wanting for the current ſervice, over and above the two ſhillings that remain, and the malt, will be borrowed on the credit of the ſinking-fund at three per cent. The bait will be tempting; for ſo muſt every diminution of taxes be to thoſe who have crouched ſo long under the weight of ſo

many. But I may venture to ſay, that it will be no more than a bait; and that they, who ſwallow it, will have reaſon to repent of their raſhneſs, when they find, as they will find very probably, that the natural effect of ſuch meaſures muſt prevent the diſcharge of any conſiderable part of our debt, except in a term of years much longer than the proſperity and even the ſafety of our government admits.

I SAY the ſafety, as well as the proſperity: and ſome reflections very plain and obvious, tho made by few, will juſtify me for ſaying ſo. As to the firſt, trade gave us wealth, wealth gave us power, and power raiſed our iſland to

be,

be, at one time, a match for France. If we deſire to return into the ſame ſtate, we muſt return by the ſame ſteps which raiſed us to it: and he, who ſhould make a ſcheme for the payment of our debts, without a principal regard to the improvement of our trade, would make a very ſilly ſcheme. But it would be juſt as ſilly, to make a ſcheme for both in ſuch a manner, as would render neither practicable.

THE neceſſity of diminiſhing taxes, in order to improve our trade, becomes a good reaſon, not for the ſtrange purpoſe to which it is applied by ſome, but for haſtening all the operations neceſſary to ſink our debts, in order

to

to haſten that diminution of taxes, which will become practicable when a part of our debt is ſunk, and which will facilitate extremely the diſcharge of the reſt. The truth is, that if we defer theſe operations too long, we may be never able to perform them with equal advantage, nor, by keeping pace with our neighbours, to renew our ſtrength as faſt, as they are intent to renew theirs. Our neighbours have ſuffered by former wars, and have been exhauſted by the laſt, as well, tho, I apprehend, not ſo much, as we. France, for inſtance, has contracted in the late war no more than one third of the additional debt we have contracted in it, as I believe on very good authority: and

ſhe

ſhe has been able to aſſign funds, which pay the intereſt of this debt regularly, and ſink yearly a part of the principal. I am not ſo well appriſed of the actual ſtate of Spain. But the treaſures of the Weſt Indies are poured into her daily; and as ſhe has been long recovered, or recovering, from her antient indolence and ignorance, ſhe ſeems to apply herſelf to the augmentation of her maritime force, to the improvement of her trade, and even to that of domeſtic manufactures. In a word, what has been ſaid before may be repeated here: they, who get ſooneſt out of the preſent common diſtreſs, will give the law to others, or be at leaſt in a condition of not receiving it from any one.

As

As to national ſafety, we ſhall do well to obſerve how much the ſyſtem of dominion and power in Europe is leſs favorable at preſent to our political intereſts and views, than it was when we undertook to mend it. Spain was falling, but not fallen into the hands of France, at the beginning of this century: and tho the ſpaniſh nation, as well as court, gave their monarchy afterwards to a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, that they might prevent the diſmemberment of it; yet they were averſe enough, by long habits of hoſtility, to a french government. Fortune and we have done ſo well at laſt, that theſe two nations are now cloſely united by intereſt and by habit,

bit, and that Spain is therefore more than ever eſtranged from us: the proofs of which are not only recent, but, I fear, actual.

THE frontier of France has been the great ſupport of her exorbitant power, as wiſe men foreſaw fourſcore years ago, when LEWIS the fourteenth began to raiſe that wall of braſs which reaches from the Alps to the Ocean, that it would become. This frontier is now more compact than ever by the acquiſition of Lorain. The branches of the houſe of Bourbon have taken root in Italy as well as in Spain. France has learned by experience to raiſe and to maintain her credit, and to extend her commerce,

for

for the protection and ſupport whereof ſhe ſeems more attentive than ever to increaſe her ſtrength by ſea: a ſtrength ſhe will always exert with great advantage over us in ſome reſpects, I mean in thoſe of order, frugal management, and ſtrict diſcipline.

THE whole empire, except Bavaria and Cologn, was attached to us by inclination, as well as intereſt, in the war which began with this century. It is much otherwiſe now: and we may ſay, I fear, too truly, that the influence of France in Germany is little inferior to what it was whilſt the league of the Rhine ſubſiſted.

THE dutch commonwealth, our beſt ally, and in ſome ſort a barrier to Great Britain, is in a ſtate of diſſolution; and has not, either without, or within herſelf, thoſe means of recovery by conjuncture and by character, that ſhe has had on ſeveral occaſions from the time her government was firſt formed.

THIS ſhort ſtate may ſerve to ſhew how difficult it will be, till we have paid a good part of our debt, and reſtored our country in ſome meaſure to her former wealth and power, to maintain the dignity of Great Britain, to make her reſpected abroad, and ſecure from injuries, or even affronts, on the part of her neighbours. This

may

may appear eaſy, for aught I know, to ſome men. But, ſure I am, it would appear difficult to BURLEIGH and WALSINGHAM, if they were to riſe from the dead; notwithſtanding the ſucceſs they had in queen ELIZABETH's reign by doing much at little expence, and by employing management much more than force.

THESE reflections, and ſuch as they ſuggeſt naturally to the mind, make it evident, that the future proſperity and ſafety of this country depend on the ſpeedy diminution of our national debts. Nothing elſe can ſecure us effectually againſt contingent events that may be of fatal conſequence to both. Recent expe-

rience has ſhewn how unfit we are become in every reſpect, except the courage of our common ſeamen and ſoldiers, to engage in war. We ſhall not therefore, I ſuppoſe, provoke it eaſily, or ſoon. But war may be brought upon us, tho we ſhould not provoke it, nor go to the continent to ſeek it. Nay, we may be reduced to the melancholly dilemma of increaſing our annual expence to aſſert our rights, to protect our trade, and to maintain our dignity; or of ſitting tamely down and ſacrificing them all. I think, nay I hope, that we ſhould not do the laſt: and yet we ſhould have much greater difficulties to ſtruggle with in our preſent ſituation, than we had in the former, great

as they were, if we attempted to do what was then ſo ſhamefully neglected. We cannot increaſe our expences now, nor ſhall we be able to do ſo till ſome part of our national debt be diſcharged, without mortgaging on the remainder of the ſinking fund; which would ſoon take away all hope of ever paying any part of this debt, and leave us nothing to mortgage but our land and our malt: whereas if a conſiderable part of this debt was diſcharged before any new war broke out, or we were reduced to any ſuch dilemma as I have mentioned, we ſhould find ourſelves, whilſt it laſted, in a much better condition of defence or offence, and we might be able, as ſoon as it

was over, to reſume the ſame operations, and to proceed in our great domeſtic concern.

THESE conſiderations will have great weight with men, who are able to combine all that is to be combined on ſuch an important occaſion, and, by reflecting on the paſt, and by obſerving the preſent, to judge of the future. The only effectual, and therefore neceſſary, remedies may appear violent, even to them: but they will conſider, and every man ought to conſider, that if we cannot bear our diſtemper, and will not bear our cure, the political body muſt periſh. This miſerable ſtate will create juſtly the indignation of mankind. But this

indignation ſhould turn againſt thoſe who have brought us into it, not againſt thoſe who would deliver us from it. This is the language of reaſon dictated by public ſpirit: but private intereſt and narrow views will dictate another.

THE moneyed men will complain loudly that they are expoſed to perpetual reductions of intereſt, which have ſerved to no other purpoſe, than to nouriſh the profuſion of ſucceſſive adminiſtrations: and, if this was to continue, their complaints would be juſt, and the hardſhips impoſed upon them intolerable. It is, therefore, juſt that neither they ſhould conſent to this new reduc-

tion of intereſt, which may be called a new tax upon them, nor the landed men to the continuance of that old and heavy tax on land, unleſs they have the utmoſt ſecurity that the whole ſhall be applied to it's proper uſe. There will be ſtill complaints; and we ſhall hear the melancholly condition, to which the widow and the orphan, whoſe ſmall but ſole fortunes are in the funds, will be reduced, moſt pathetically diſplayed. The anſwer will be, however, obvious. If the widow and the orphan, who have their eſtates in money, ſuffer by the reduction of intereſt; the widow and the orphan, who have their eſtates in land, will ſuffer by the continuance of the tax upon it: and both

one

one and the other muſt take their ſhare in the common calamity of their country.

But the truth is, that the feeble voice of the widow and the orphan will be little heard. The great din will be raiſed by ſtock-jobbers and uſurers, by the principal men in our great companies, who, born to ſerve and to obey, have been bred to command even government itſelf. Theſe men will roar aloud, and endeavour, by ſilent intrigue, as well as by noiſe, to obſtruct every meaſure that tends to emancipate government out of their hands, to make the exchequer, what it ought to be, the great ſpring of public credit, and the great ſcene of all tranſ-

tranſactions relative to public receipts and payments.

LET theſe men learn therefore to ſubmit, and to reaſon, as old BATEMAN did, when the reduction of intereſt was agreed to in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventeen. He told my lord STANHOPE, he was glad this reſolution had been taken; becauſe, tho his intereſt diminiſhed, he ſhould think his principal more ſecure than ever. On the whole, complaints from this quarter will make little impreſſion on a miniſter, who knows, that tho ſuch men have been employed whilſt new debts were to be contracted every year, and the public, like an extravagant ſpendthrift, was

obliged

obliged to deal with uſurers on their own terms; yet they are not to be conſulted, when debts are to be paid, and the public to be taken out of their hands; who knows, in ſhort, that his arms are longer than theirs, and makes them feel that he will keep, or not keep, meaſures with them according to their behaviour; who purſues ſteddily the wiſe and honeſt deſign of rendering his own and every future adminiſtration independent of them.

Much oppoſition will ariſe from two other quarters, the country and the court; in which I ſhould apprehend that the leaſt plauſible might be the moſt ſucceſsful.

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THE landed man will think it hard, that he is not ſuffered to enjoy a little eaſe after having borne the burden and heat of the day during a long courſe of expenſive peace and of ruinous war. All that can be ſaid, to perſuade him that an immediate diminution of the land-tax is contrary to his intereſt, will paſs for deception and paradox. He will be apt to reaſon like his country tenants, who are always frightened at an immediate expence, tho remote and yet great profit muſt be the certain conſequence of it. Let ſuch a man look back then, and take his leſſon from what is paſt. He will find that, whilſt he winked at profuſion becauſe he was flattered by abate-

ments

ments on the land-tax, debts were contracted that have coſt him much more, than the continuance of that tax would have coſt him. If we look back to the firſt ten years of his preſent majeſty's reign, we ſhall find this very remarkably verified. Let the ſame man, after he has looked back, look forward again. He will ſee, that as any diminution of the land-tax to be ſupplied out of the produce of the ſinking fund, or by borrowing even at three per cent. on the credit of it, muſt prevent, or retard, which may be equivalent to preventing, the diſcharge of any conſiderable part of our debt; ſo he will continue expoſed to have the whole tax laid anew, on the firſt occa-

ſion either real or pretended. He may find himſelf, after a little reſpite, under the load of the ſame tax, and of an increaſed debt: and this may be all he will get by refuſing to bear a little longer, for his own ſake, and for an important object, what he has borne ſeveral years for the ſake of others, and for the ſupport of a moſt unſucceſsful war; for ſuch it may be reckoned, after the French were beat at Dettinghen.

On the other ſide, if he is wiſe enough to deſire that the four ſhillings in the pound be continued for a few years, he will have his ſhare in the common benefits of diminiſhing public debts, increaſing public credit, improv-

improving trade, and reſtoring national proſperity. He may entertain the comfortable hope of a time, when he, or his poſterity, will have no need of conſenting to any tax at all on land in time of peace; ſince the annual produce of other funds will be ſooner or later, in this method, ſufficient to defray the annual expence of the government. He may acquire an advantage, that will make him ample amends for what it coſt him. Such of the taxes, whether of exciſe or of cuſtoms, as bear hardeſt on the poor laborers and on our own manufactures, may be reduced, gradually at leaſt, without any conſiderable interruption of the operations neceſſary to diſcharge our national

debt: and tho he is little accuſtomed to think himſelf as much affected by other taxes, as he is by the land-tax, he will ſoon perceive, that a ſaving on every thing he eats, drinks, or wears, is a laſting and a large repayment of what this tax took from him whilſt he conſented to continue it. He will find himſelf a gainer, not only by what he ſaves in his expences, but by the improvement of his eſtate; for the whole ſyſtem of national wealth and proſperity are intimately connected.

THE courtier will complain loudly, authoritatively, and pompouſly, that any retrenchments on our annual expences may do more

more hurt, than the saving can do good. But I believe it not hard to shew, that three shillings, or three shillings and sixpence in the pound on land, leaving the rest of the four shillings to go to the sinking fund, would be more than sufficient to answer all necessary expences in time of peace. Wise men are able to do a great deal with a little: every knave or fool is ready to do a little with a great deal. The former know that good policy consists in observing two sorts of oeconomy, the greater and the less: to proportion, by the first, our expences to our circumstances and to those of our neighbours, and to do it with the utmost frugality that these cir-

cumſtances combined together will admit: to controll, by the ſecond, in the moſt ſtrict and regular manner, the diſpenſation of the public treaſure from the higheſt down to the loweſt offices of the ſtate. It is of the utmoſt importance, at this time eſpecially, that both theſe kinds of oeconomy be practiſed. Our well-being, even our ſecurity depends upon them. If we do not pay our debts, we muſt ſink under the load of them: and if we go about to pay them, without practiſing theſe two ſorts of oeconomy, the ridiculous figure, which I have ſeen in a dutch print, of a man toiling and ſweating to cord a rope of hay, whilſt an aſs bites it off at the other end

as

as faſt as he cords it, will be our proper emblem.

EXTREME frugality was one of the means employed by the great miniſter who has been quoted above: and the ſucceſs he had, in ſimilar circumſtances, ſhould encourage the practice of the ſame frugality in ours. But he employed another expedient likewiſe, which is not leſs neceſſary here than it was there, nor in our time than it was in his. The expedient I mean, is that of reforming abuſes. SULLY rendered this reformation no inconſiderable fund for the payment of public debts. Whether we can do ſo, as effectually as he did, or no, I determine not. But thus much

is certain: ſuch a reformation will make all future ſervices be carried on at a cheaper rate for the public; and ſaving is often the ſureſt way of gaining. Materials might be collected, not for a pamphlet, but for a regular treatiſe under diſtinct heads, concerning the abuſes and corruptions which prevail among us in every part of the public ſervice, and concerning the conſequences of them: I know not too whether ſome work of this kind ſhould not be undertaken, as invidious as it may ſeem, if nothing is done to reform theſe abuſes, and to extinguiſh this corruption.

They were creeping forward long ago: but ſince a certain period, they have advanced with very large ſtrides. Frauds were connived at, perhaps encouraged, and corruption was propagated formerly by principal men, who had, for the moſt part, more ambition than avarice, and who raiſed, by theſe means, a formidable party that might ſupport them in power. But in proceſs of time, and in favorable conjunctures, the contagion roſe higher, and ſpread ſtill wider; principal men became parties to the greateſt frauds; and the higheſt of thoſe who governed, and the loweſt of thoſe who were governed, contributed, in their degrees, to the univerſal rapine.

The greateſt particular cheat, whereof any example can be found, was, I believe, that which arrears of ſubſidies to foreign princes, and arrears of pay to foreign troops, gave the opportunity and the means of executing.

I AM ſenſible, that the repreſentation I have made of the degeneracy of our age and people, may give occaſion to ſay, that the very things I have been pleading for are impracticable. It will be aſked, what expectation can be entertained of raiſing a diſintereſted public ſpirit among men, who have no other principle than that of private intereſt, who are individuals rather than fellow-citizens, who prey on one another,

other, and are, in a ſtate of civil ſociety, much like to HOBBES's men in his ſuppoſed ſtate of nature? I muſt agree, tho unwillingly, that the enterpriſe is difficult. But the more difficult it is, if nothing leſs can relieve us from the load of debt we lie under, nor prevent the conſequences of lying under it much longer; every attempt to raiſe this ſpirit, and to promote theſe meaſures, even the weakeſt, even mine, is commendable. The landed men are the true owners of our political veſſel: the moneyed men, as ſuch, are no more than paſſengers in it. To the firſt, therefore, all exhortations to aſſume this ſpirit ſhould be addreſſed. It is their part to ſet the example: and when

they do ſo, they have a right to expect that the paſſengers ſhould contribute their proportion to ſave the veſſel. If they ſhould prove refractory, they muſt be told that there is a law in behalf of the public, more ſacred, and more antient too, for it is as antient as political ſociety, than all thoſe under the terms of which they would exempt themſelves from any reduction of intereſt, and conſequently from any reimburſement of their principal; tho this reduction and this reimburſement be abſolutely neceſſary to reſtore the proſperity of the nation, and to provide for her ſecurity in the mean time. The law I mean, is that which nature and reaſon dictate, and

which

which declares the preſervation of the commonwealth to be ſuperior to all other laws.

If ſuch a co-operation of the landed and moneyed intereſts is once brought about, the way will lie ſmooth before us, and a proſpect of national proſperity at the end of it will open before us yearly. Even the proſpect will be of great advantage both at home and abroad. We ſhall feel it in the riſe of our credit, in the confidence which our friends, and in the reſpect which our enemies, will have for us: a reſpect that will be due juſtly to a people who exert ſo much vigor in the midſt of ſo much diſtreſs, and take effectual meaſures to reſtore

their

their national ſtrength, and to reſume their former dignity, inſtead of languiſhing on, under impotence and contempt.

THE man, who is not fired by ſuch conſiderations as theſe, muſt have no elevation of mind, no love for his country, no regard for poſterity, nor the leaſt tincture of that public morality which diſtinguiſhes a good from a bad citizen. I know that futility, ignorance, and every kind of profligacy are general: but I know too that they are not univerſal, and therefore I do not deſpair. In all events, the merit of preſerving our country from beggary is little inferior to that of preſerving it from ſlavery.

They

They who engage therefore in ſo good a cauſe, and purſue it ſteddily in that public ſpirit, a revival of which can alone ſave this nation from miſery, from oppreſſion, and perhaps from confuſion, the uſual conſequence of the other two; they will deſerve better, I preſume to ſay, the title of ultimi Britannorum, even if they ſhould be defeated by the worſt ſubjects of Britain, than that uſurer BRUTUS, and that ſevere exactor of contributions, CASSIUS, deſerved the title of ultimi Romanorum, when they were defeated in another manner by the worſt citizens of Rome.

AFTER

AFTER all that has been ſaid in theſe papers, and all that might be ſaid, concerning the conduct of the houſe of Auſtria, from the reign of king WILLIAM to the preſent time; it may be proper to add ſomething by way of precaution, and to prevent very falſe concluſions, that many will be ready to draw from very true premiſſes.

IT is notoriouſly true, that a ſpirit of bigotry, of tyranny, and of avarice in the court of Vienna, maintained long the troubles in Hungary, which might have been appeaſed much ſooner than they were. Thus a great and conſtant diverſion was kept up in favor of France, even at the time when

the two houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon were ſtruggling for that great prize, the ſpaniſh ſucceſſion, till the french troops took poſſeſſion of Paſſau, and the malecontents of Hungary raiſed contributions in the very ſuburbs of Vienna.

It is notoriouſly true, that we might have had nothing more than a defenſive war, as I have ſaid in the foregoing papers, to make againſt France, with an auſtrian prince on the throne of Spain, at the death of CHARLES the ſecond; if the emperor LEOPOLD would have concurred in the wiſe and practicable meaſures which king WILLIAM propoſed.

IT is notoriouſly true, that we might have avoided the defeat at Almanza, and have ſupported much better the war in Spain; if a predilection for acquiſitions in Italy had not determined the councils of Vienna to precipitate the evacuation of Mantua, wherein an army of French was blocked up after the battle of Turin, and which was let looſe in this manner, againſt the opinion of the queen and the ſtates general, time enough to beat us at Almanza.

FINALLY, for I will deſcend into no more particulars; it is notoriouſly true, that we might have taken Toulon, and have carried the war into the beſt provinces of France,

France, for which queen ANNE had made, at a vaſt expence, all the neceſſary preparations; if the Auſtrians had not detached, in that very point of time, twelve thouſand men on the expedition to Naples, and if prince EUGENE had not ſhewn too viſibly, before perſons ſtill alive, that the taking of Toulon was the leaſt of his objects.

THESE facts are ſufficient to ſhew, how much the miſtaken policy of the court of Vienna has over-loaded her allies during more than half a century, and has defeated the great deſign which theſe allies, and Britain in particular, carried on for her at the expence of infinite blood and

treaſure. Now there are many in this kingdom very ready to conclude from theſe facts, and from others of the ſame kind poſterior to theſe, that our experience ſhould teach us to neglect the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria, and to be regardleſs of all that paſſes on the continent for the time to come. But ſurely ſuch concluſions are very falſe. The principle of our conduct has been right, and our manner of purſuing it alone wrong. It was our neglect of the general intereſt of Europe, from the pyrenean treaty to the revolution of our government in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty eight, that gave to France a long opportunity, and the means of raiſing an

exor-

exorbitant power. It has been zeal without knowledge, and a ſtrange ſubſerviency to private intereſts, which have almoſt exhauſted this country, and defeated all our endeavours for the public good, ſince that time. This we may alter. The principle of policy we cannot, as long as the diviſion of power and property in Europe continues the ſame. We are an iſland indeed: but if a ſuperior power gives the law to the continent, I apprehend that it will give it to us too in ſome great degree. Our forefathers apprehended, with reaſon, the exorbitant power of the houſe of Auſtria; and thought that the pretenſions of MARY queen of Scots might give, even when ſhe

was a priſoner, opportunity and advantage, as they did no doubt, to this power to diſturb our peace, and even to invade our iſland. The exorbitant power of the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon give ſurely in this reſpect, as well as in others, at leaſt the ſame cauſe of apprehenſion now. It is, therefore, plainly our intereſt to maintain the rivalry between the families of Auſtria and of Bourbon; and for that purpoſe to aſſiſt the former on every occaſion againſt the latter, as far as the common cauſe of Europe, not her private ambition, requires; and as far as our national circumſtances may enable us to meaſure out our aſſiſtance in any conjuncture to her.

THESE are the meaſures and proportions, according to which alone political ſocieties ought to unite in alliances, and to aſſiſt one another. There is a political, as well as a natural, ſelf-love; and the former ought to be, to every member of a commonwealth, the ſame determining principle of action, where public intereſt is concerned, that the latter will be to him moſt certainly wherever his private intereſt is concerned. I have heard it often ſaid of one man, that he was a friend or an enemy to the houſe of Auſtria; and of another, that he was a friend or an enemy to the houſe of Bourbon. But theſe expreſſions proceed generally from paſſion and

prepoſſeſſion; as the ſentiments they impute muſt proceed, whenever they are real, from theſe cauſes, or from one which is ſtill worſe, from corruption. A wiſe prince, and a wiſe people, bear no regard to other ſtates, except that which ariſes from the coincidence or repugnancy of their ſeveral intereſts; and this regard muſt therefore vary, as theſe intereſts will do, in the perpetual fluctuation of human affairs. Thus queen ELIZABETH and her people oppoſed the houſe of Auſtria, and ſupported the houſe of Bourbon, in the ſixteenth century. Thus queen ANNE and her people oppoſed the houſe of Bourbon, and ſupported the houſe of Auſtria, in the eighteenth. The

firſt,

firſt, indeed, was done with wiſer counſel; the laſt with greater force of arms. By the firſt, our country was enriched; by the laſt, it was impoveriſhed——

N. B. Theſe conſiderations were written thus far in the year ſeventeen hundred and forty nine, but were never finiſhed.

A

LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

Alexander Pope, Esq.

By the late Right Honorable

HENRY St. JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

A

LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

ALEXANDER POPE, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

SINCE you have begun, at my requeſt, the work which I have wiſhed long that you would undertake, it is but reaſonable that I ſubmit to the taſk you impoſe upon me. The mere compliance with any thing you deſire, is a pleaſure to me. On the preſent occaſion, however, this compliance is a little intereſted; and that I may not aſſume more merit with you, than I really have, I will own that in performing

forming this act of friendſhip, for ſuch you are willing to eſteem it, the purity of my motive is corrupted by ſome regard to my private utility. In ſhort, I ſuſpect you to be guilty of a very friendly fraud, and to mean my ſervice whilſt you ſeem to mean your own.

In leading me to diſcourſe, as you have done often, and in preſſing me to write, as you do now, on certain ſubjects, you may propoſe to draw me back to thoſe trains of thought, which are, above all others, worthy to employ the human mind: and I thank you for it. They have been often interrupted by the buſineſs and diſſipations of the world,

world, but they were never ſo more grievouſly to me, nor leſs uſefully to the public, than ſince royal ſeduction prevailed on me to abandon the quiet and leiſure of the retreat I had choſen abroad, and to neglect the example of RUTILIUS, for I might have imitated him in this at leaſt, who fled further from his country when he was invited home.

YOU have begun your ethic epiſtles in a maſterly manner. You have copied no other writer, nor will you, I think, be copied by any one. It is with genius as it is with beauty; there are a thouſand pretty things that charm alike; but ſuperior genius, like ſuperior beauty, has always ſomething

thing particular, ſomething that belongs to itſelf alone. It is always diſtinguiſhable, not only from thoſe who have no claim to excellence, but even from thoſe who excel, when any ſuch there are.

I AM pleaſed, you may be ſure, to find your ſatire turn, in the very beginning of theſe epiſtles, againſt the principal cauſe, for ſuch you know that I think it, of all the errors, all the contradictions, and all the diſputes which have ariſen among thoſe, who impoſe themſelves on their fellow creatures for great maſters, and almoſt ſole proprietors of a gift of God which is common to the whole ſpecies. This gift is rea-

ſon;

ſon; a faculty, or rather an aggregate of faculties, that is beſtowed in different degrees; and not in the higheſt, certainly, on thoſe who make the higheſt pretenſions to it. Let your ſatire chaſtiſe, and, if it be poſſible, humble that pride, which is the fruitful parent of their vain curioſity and bold preſumption; which renders them dogmatical in the midſt of ignorance, and often ſceptical in the midſt of knowledge. The man, who is puffed up with this philoſophical pride, whether divine, or theiſt, or atheiſt, deſerves no more to be reſpected, than one of thoſe trifling creatures, who are conſcious of little elſe than their animality, and who ſtop as far ſhort of the attainable per-

perfections of their nature, as the other attempts to go beyond them. You will diſcover as many ſilly affections, as much foppery and futility, as much inconſiſtency and low artifice in one, as in the other. I never met the mad-woman at Brentford, decked out in old and new rags, and nice and fantaſtical in the manner of wearing them, without reflecting on many of the profound ſcholars, and ſublime philoſophers of our own, and of former ages.

You may expect ſome contradiction, and ſome obloquy on the part of theſe men, tho you will have leſs to apprehend from their malice and reſentment, than a writer in proſe on the ſame

ſubjects

ſubjects would have. You will be ſafer in the generalities of poetry: and I know your precaution enough to know that you will ſcreen yourſelf in them againſt any direct charge of heterodoxy. But the great clamor of all will be raiſed when you deſcend lower, and let your Muſe looſe among the herd of mankind. Then will thoſe powers of dullneſs, whom you have ridiculed into immortality, be called forth in one united phalanx againſt you. But why do I talk of what may happen? You have experienced lately ſomething more than I prognoſticate. Fools and knaves ſhould be modeſt at leaſt, they ſhould aſk quarter of men of ſenſe and virtue: and ſo they do

till they grow up to a majority; till a ſimilitude of character aſſures them of the protection of the great. But then vice and folly, ſuch as prevail in our country, corrupt our manners, deform even ſocial life, and contribute to make us ridiculous as well as miſerable, will claim reſpect for the ſake of the vicious and the fooliſh. It will be then no longer ſufficient to ſpare perſons; for to draw even characters of imagination muſt become criminal when the application of them to thoſe of higheſt rank, and greateſt power cannot fail to be made. You began to laugh at the ridiculous taſte, or the no taſte in gardening and building, of ſome men who are at great expence, in

both.

both. What a clamor was raiſed inſtantly? The name of TIMON was applied to a noble perſon, with double malice, to make him ridiculous, and you, who lived in friendſhip with him, odious. By the authority that employed itſelf to encourage this clamor, and by the induſtry uſed to ſpread and ſupport it, one would have thought that you had directed your ſatire in that epiſtle to political ſubjects, and had inveighed againſt thoſe who impoveriſh, diſhonor, and ſell their country, inſtead of making yourſelf inoffenſively merry at the expence of men who ruin none but themſelves, and render none but themſelves ridiculous. What will the clamor be, and how will the ſame au-

thority foment it, when you proceed to laſh, in other inſtances, our want of elegance even in luxury, and our wild profuſion, the ſource of inſatiable rapacity, and almoſt univerſal venality? My mind forebodes that the time will come, and who knows how near it may be? when other powers, than thoſe of Grubſtreet, may be drawn forth againſt you, and when vice and folly may be avowedly ſheltered behind a power inſtituted for better, and contrary purpoſes; for the puniſhment of one, and for the reformation of both.

But, however this may be, purſue your taſk undauntedly, and, whilſt ſo many others convert the nobleſt employments of human

human ſociety into ſordid trades, let the generous Muſe reſume her antient dignity, re-aſſert her antient prerogative, and inſtruct and reform, as well as amuſe the world. Let her give a new turn to the thoughts of men, raiſe new affections in their minds, and determine in another and better manner the paſſions of their hearts. Poets, they ſay, were the firſt philoſophers and divines, in every country; and in ours, perhaps, the firſt inſtitutions of religion, and civil policy, were owing to our bards. Their taſk might be hard, their merit was certainly great. But if they were to riſe now from the dead, they would find the ſecond taſk, if I miſtake not, much harder than

the firſt, and confeſs it more eaſy to deal with ignorance than with error. When ſocieties are once eſtabliſhed, and governments formed, men flatter themſelves that they proceed in cultivating the firſt rudiments of civility, policy, religion, and learning. But they do not obſerve that the private intereſts of many, the prejudices, affections, and paſſions of all, have a large ſhare in the work, and often the largeſt. Theſe put a ſort of bias on the mind, which makes it decline from the ſtraight courſe; and the further theſe ſuppoſed improvements are carried, the greater this declination grows, till men loſe ſight of primitive and real nature, and have no other guide but cuſtom, a ſecond

and

and a falſe nature. The author of one is divine wiſdom; of the other, human imagination: and yet whenever the ſecond ſtands in oppoſition to the firſt, as it does moſt frequently, the ſecond prevails. From hence it happens that the moſt civiliſed nations are often guilty of injuſtice and cruelty, which the leaſt civiliſed would abhor; and that many of the moſt abſurd opinions and doctrines, which have been impoſed in the dark ages of ignorance, continue to be the opinions, and doctrines of ages enlightened by philoſophy and learning. If I was a philoſopher, ſays MONTAIGNE, I would naturaliſe art, inſtead of artiliſing nature. The expreſſion is odd, but

the ſenſe is good; and what he recommends would be done, if the reaſons that have been given did not ſtand in the way; if the ſelf-intereſt of ſome men, the madneſs of others, and the univerſal pride of the human heart, did not determine them to prefer error to truth, and authority to reaſon.

WHILST your Muſe is employed to laſh the vicious into repentance, or to laugh the fools of the age into ſhame, and whilſt ſhe riſes ſometimes to the nobleſt ſubjects of philoſophical meditation, I ſhall throw upon paper, for your ſatisfaction, and for my own, ſome part at leaſt of what I have thought and ſaid formerly on the laſt

laſt of theſe ſubjects, as well as the reflections that they may ſuggeſt to me further in writing on them. The ſtrange ſituation I am in, and the melancholly ſtate of public affairs take up much of my time, divide or even diſſipate my thoughts, and, which is worſe, drag the mind down, by perpetual interruptions, from a philoſophical tone or temper, to the drudgery of private and public buſineſs. The laſt lies neareſt my heart; and, ſince I am once more engaged in the ſervice of my country; diſarmed, gagged, and almoſt bound as I am, I will not abandon it as long as the integrity, and perſeverance of thoſe who are under none of theſe diſadvantages, and with whom I

now co-operate, make it reaſonable for me to act the ſame part. Further than this no ſhadow of duty obliges me to go. PLATO ceaſed to act for the commonwealth when he ceaſed to perſuade; and SOLON laid down his arms before the public magazine when PISISTRATUS grew too ſtrong to be oppoſed any longer with hopes of ſucceſs.

THO my ſituation, and my engagements are ſufficiently known to you, I chuſe to mention them on this occaſion, leſt you ſhould expect from me any thing more than I find myſelf able to perform whilſt I am in them. It has been ſaid by many, that they wanted time to make their diſ-

courſe

courſes ſhorter: and if this be a good excuſe, as I think it may be often, I lay in my claim to it. You muſt neither expect, in what I am about to write to you, that brevity which might be expected in letters, or eſſays; nor that exactneſs of method, nor that fulneſs of the ſeveral parts, which they affect to obſerve, who preſume to write philoſophical treatiſes. The merit of brevity is relative to the manner and ſtyle, in which any ſubject is treated, as well as to the nature of it: for the ſame ſubject may be ſometimes treated very differently, and yet very properly, in both theſe reſpects. Should the poet make ſyllogiſms in verſe, or purſue a long proceſs of reaſoning in the didac-

didactic ſtyle, he would be ſure to tire his reader on the whole, like LUCRETIUS, tho he reaſoned better than the roman, and put into ſome parts of his work the ſame poetical fire. He may write, as you have begun to do, on philoſophical ſubjects; but he muſt write in his own character. He muſt contract, he may ſhadow, he has a right to omit whatever will not be caſt in the poetic mold: and when he cannot inſtruct, he may hope to pleaſe. But the philoſopher has no ſuch priviſeges. He may contract ſometimes, he muſt never ſhadow. He muſt be limited by his matter, leſt he ſhould grow whimſical; and by the parts of it which he underſtands beſt, leſt

he ſhould grow obſcure. But theſe parts he muſt develope fully; and he has no right to omit any thing that may ſerve the purpoſe of truth, whether it pleaſe or not. As it would be diſingenuous to ſacrifice truth to popularity, ſo it is trifling to appeal to the reaſon and experience of mankind, as every philoſophical writer does, or muſt be underſtood to do, and then to talk, like PLATO, and his antient and modern diſciples, to the imagination only. There is no need however to baniſh eloquence out of philoſophy; and truth and reaſon are no enemies to the purity, nor to the ornaments of language. But as the want of an exact determination of ideas, and of an exact

preciſion

preciſion in the uſe of words, is inexcuſable in a philoſopher, he muſt preſerve them, even at the expence of ſtyle. In ſhort, it ſeems to me, that the buſineſs of the philoſopher is to dilate, if I may borrow this word from TULLY, to preſs, to prove, to convince; and that of the poet to hint, to touch his ſubject with ſhort and ſpirited ſtrokes, to warm the affections, and to ſpeak to the heart.

THO I ſeem to prepare an apology for prolixity even in writing eſſays, I will endeavour not to be tedious; and this endeavour may ſucceed the better, perhaps, by declining any over ſtrict obſervation of method: There are cer-

tain points of that which I intend the FIRST PHILOSOPHY, whereof I ſhall never loſe ſight: but this will be very conſiſtent with a ſort of epiſtolary licenſe. To digreſs, and to ramble, are different things; and he who knows the country, through which he travels, may venture out of the high road becauſe he is ſure of finding his way back to it again. Thus the ſeveral matters that may ariſe, even accidentally, before me, will have ſome ſhare in guiding my pen.

I DARE not promiſe that the ſections, or members of theſe eſſays will bear that nice proportion to one another, and to the whole, which a ſevere critic would require.

faire. All I dare promiſe you is, that my thoughts, in what order ſoever they flow, ſhall be communicated to you juſt as they paſs through my mind, juſt as they uſe to be when we converſe together on theſe, or any other ſubjects; when we ſaunter alone, or, as we have often done, with good ARBUTHNOT, and the jocoſe dean of St. Patrick's, among the multiplied ſcenes of your little garden. That theatre is large enough for my ambition. I dare not pretend to inſtruct mankind, and I am not humble enough to write to the public for any other purpoſe. I mean, by writing on ſuch ſubjects as I intend here, to make ſome trial of my progreſs in ſearch of the moſt important

truths,

truths, and to make this trial before a friend, in whom, I think, I may confide. Theſe epiſtolary eſſays, therefore, will be writ with as little regard to form, and with as little reſerve, as I uſed to ſhew in the converſations which have given occaſion to them, when I maintained the ſame opinions, and inſiſted on the ſame reaſons in defence of them.

IT might ſeem ſtrange to a man not well acquainted with the world, and in particular with the philoſophical and theological tribe, that ſo much precaution ſhould be neceſſary in the communication of our thoughts on any ſubject of the firſt philoſophy, which is of common con-

cern

common to the whole race of mankind, and wherein no one can have, according to nature and truth, any ſeparate intereſt. Yet ſo it is. The ſeparate intereſts we cannot have by God's inſtitutions, are created by thoſe of man; and there is no ſubject, on which men deal more unfairly with one another, than this. There are ſeparate intereſts, to mention them in general only, of prejudice, and of profeſſion. By the firſt, men ſet out in the ſearch of truth under the conduct of error, and work up their heated imaginations often to ſuch a delirium, that the more genius, and the more learning they have, the madder they grow. By the ſecond, they are ſworn, as it were,

to follow all their lives the authority of ſome particular ſchool, to which "tanquam ſcopulo, adhaereſcunt*;" for the condition of their engagement is to defend certain doctrines, and even mere forms of ſpeech, without examination, or to examine only in order to defend them. By both, they become philoſophers as men became chriſtians in the primitive church, or as they determined themſelves about diſputed doctrines; for ſays HILARIUS, writing to St. AUSTIN, "Your holineſs knows, that the "greateſt part of the faithful "embrace, or refuſe to embrace "a doctrine, for no reaſon but

* TULLY.

" the impreſſion which the name " and authority of ſome body or " other makes on them." What now can a man who ſeeks truth, for the ſake of truth, and is indifferent where he finds it, expect from any communication of his thoughts to ſuch men as theſe? He will be much deceived, if he expects any thing better than impoſition, or altercation.

FEW men have, I believe, conſulted others, both the living and the dead, with leſs preſumption, and in a greater ſpirit of docility, than I have done: and the more I have conſulted, the leſs have I found of that inward conviction, on which a mind, that is not abſolutely implicit, can reſt. I thought,

thought, for a time, that this muſt be my fault. I diſtruſted myſelf, not my teachers, men of the greateſt name, antient and modern. But I found at laſt, that it was ſafer to truſt myſelf than them, and to proceed by the light of my own underſtanding, than to wander after theſe ignes fatui of philoſophy. If I am able therefore to tell you eaſily, and at the ſame time ſo clearly and diſtinctly as to be eaſily underſtood, and ſo ſtrongly as not to be eaſily refuted, how I have thought for myſelf, I ſhall be perſuaded that I have thought enough on theſe ſubjects. If I am not able to do this, it will be evident that I have not thought on them enough. I muſt review

my opinions, diſcover and correct my errors.

I HAVE ſaid, that the ſubjects I mean, and which will be the principal objects of theſe Eſſays, are thoſe of the firſt philoſophy; and it is fit, therefore, that I ſhould explain what I underſtand by the firſt philoſophy. Do not imagine that I underſtand what has paſſed commonly under that name, metaphyſical pneumatics, for inſtance, or ontology. The firſt are converſant about imaginary ſubſtances, ſuch as may, and may not exiſt. That there is a God we can demonſtrate; and altho we know nothing of his manner of being, yet we acknowledge him to be immaterial, becauſe a thouſand

thouſand abſurdities, and ſuch as imply the ſtrongeſt contradiction, reſult from the ſuppoſition that the Supreme Being is a ſyſtem of matter. But of any other ſpirits we neither have, nor can have any knowledge: and no man will be inquiſitive about ſpiritual phyſiognomy, nor go about to enquire, I believe, at this time, as EVODIUS enquired of St. AUSTIN, whether our immaterial part, the ſoul, does not remain united, when it forſakes this groſs terreſtrial body, to ſome aethereal body, more ſubtil, and more fine; which was one of the pythagorean, and platonic whimſies: nor be under any concern to know, if this be not the caſe of the dead, how ſouls can be diſtin-

ſhed after their ſeparation, that of DIVES, for example, from that of LAZARUS. The ſecond, that is ontology, treats moſt ſcientifically of being abſtracted from all being, "de ente quatenus ens." It came in faſhion whilſt ARISTOTLE was in faſhion, and has been ſpun into an immenſe web out of ſcholaſtic brains. But it ſhould be, and I think it is already, left to the acute diſciples of LEIBNITZ, who dug for gold in the ordure of the ſchools, and to other german wits. Let them darken by tedious definitions, what is too plain to need any; or let them employ their vocabulary of barbarous terms to propagate an unintelligible jargon, which is ſuppoſed to expreſs

ſuch

ſuch abſtractions as they cannot make, and according to which, however, they preſume often to controul the particular and moſt evident truths of experimental knowledge. Such reputed ſcience deſerves no rank in philoſophy, not the laſt, and much leſs the firſt.

I DESIRE you not to imagine neither, that I underſtand by the firſt philoſophy, even ſuch a ſcience as my * lord BACON deſcribes, a ſcience of general obſervations, and axioms, ſuch as do not belong properly to any particular part of ſcience, but are common to many, "and of an "higher ſtage," as he expreſſes himſelf. He complains, that phi-

* Advan. of learn. Lib. ii.

ſophers have not gone up to the "ſpring-head," which would be of "general, and excellent uſe "for the diſcloſing of nature, and "the abridgement of art;" tho they "draw now and then a "bucket of water out of the well "for ſome particular uſe." I reſpect, no man more, this great authority; but I reſpect no authority enough to ſubſcribe, on the faith of it, to that which appears to me fantaſtical, as if it were real. Now this ſpring-head of ſcience is purely fantaſtical, and the figure conveys a falſe notion to the mind, as figures, employed licentiouſly, are apt to do. The great author himſelf calls theſe axioms, which are to conſtitute his firſt philoſophy, obſervations. Such

they

they are properly; for there are ſome uniform principles, or uniform impreſſions of the ſame nature, to be obſerved in very different ſubjects; "unaeademque natu-
" rae veſtigia aut ſignacula diver-
" ſis materiis et ſubjectis impreſ-
" ſa." Theſe obſervations, therefore, when they are ſufficiently verified and well eſtabliſhed, may be properly applied in diſcourſe, or writing, from one ſubject to another. But I apprehend that when they are ſo applied, they ſerve rather to illuſtrate a propoſition, than to diſcloſe nature, or to abridge art. They may have a better foundation, than ſimilitudes and compariſons more loofely and more ſuperficially made. They may compare reali-

ties

ties, not appearances; things that nature has made alike, not things that ſeem only to have ſome relation of this kind in our imaginations. But ſtill they are compariſons of things diſtinct, and independent. They do not lead us to things; but things that are lead us to make them. He who poſſeſſes two ſciences, and the ſame will be often true of arts, may find in certain reſpects a ſimilitude between them, becauſe he poſſeſſes both. If he did not poſſeſs both, he would be led by neither to the acquiſition of the other. Such obſervations are effects, not means of knowledge; and therefore to ſuppoſe that any collection of them can conſtitute a ſcience of an "higher ſtage,"

from whence we may reaſon à priori down to particulars, is, I preſume, to ſuppoſe ſomething very groundleſs, and very uſeleſs at beſt to the advancement of knowledge. A pretended ſcience of this kind muſt be barren of knowledge, and may be fruitful of error, as the perſian magic was, if it proceeded on the faint analogy that may be diſcovered between phyſics, and politics, and deduced the rules of civil government from what the profeſſors of it obſerved of the operations, and works of nature in the material world. The very ſpecimen of their magic, which my lord BACON has given, would be ſufficient to juſtify what is here objected to his doctrine.

LET

LET us conclude this head by mentioning two examples among others, which he brings to explain the better what he means by his firſt philoſophy. The firſt is this axiom *, "If to unequals you "add equals, all will be unequal." This, he ſays, is an axiom of juſtice, as well as of mathematics; and he aſks, whether there is not a true coincidence between commutative and diſtributive juſtice, and arithmetical and geometrical proportion? But I would aſk in my turn, whether the certainty that any arithmetician, or geometrician has of the arithmetical, or geometrical truth, will lead him to diſcover this coincidence?

* Si inaequalibus addas aequalia, omnia erunt inaequalia.

I aſk

I aſk, whether the moſt profound lawyer, who never heard perhaps this axiom, would be led to it by his notions of commutative, and diſtributive juſtice? Certainly not. He who is well ſkilled in arithmetic, or geometry, and in juriſprudence, may obſerve, perhaps, this uniformity of natural principle or impreſſion, becauſe he is ſo ſkilled; tho, to ſay the truth, it be not very obvious: but he will not have derived his knowledge of it from any ſpring-head of a firſt philoſophy, from any ſcience of an "higher ſtage" than arithmetic, geometry, and juriſprudence.

THE ſecond example is this axiom,

axiom *, "that the deſtruction "of things is prevented by the "reduction of them to their firſt "principles." This rule is ſaid to hold in religion, in phyſics, and in politics; and MACHIAVEL is quoted for having eſtabliſhed it in the laſt of theſe. Now, tho this axiom be generally, it is not univerſally true; and, to ſay nothing of phyſics, it will not be hard to produce, in contradiction to it, examples of religious, and civil inſtitutions, that would have periſhed if they had been kept ſtrictly to their firſt principles, and that have been ſupported by departing more or leſs from them. It may ſeem juſtly matter of

* Interitus rei arcetur per reductionem ejus ad principia.

wonder,

wonder, that the author of the Advancement of learning ſhould eſpouſe this maxim in religion, and politics, as well as phyſics, ſo abſolutely, and that he ſhould place it as an axiom of his firſt philoſophy relatively to the three, ſince he could not do it without falling into the abuſe he condemns ſo much in his Organum novum †; the abuſe philoſophers are guilty of when they ſuffer the mind to riſe too faſt, as it is apt to do, from particulars to remote, and general axioms. That the author of the Political diſcourſes ſhould fall into this abuſe,

† —ut intellectus a particularibus ad axiomata remota, et quaſi generaliſſima,—ſaliat; et volet.

is not at all ſtrange. The ſame abuſe runs through all his writings, in which, among many wiſe, and many wicked reflections, and precepts, he eſtabliſhes frequently general maxims, or rules of conduct, on a few particular examples, and ſometimes on a ſingle example. Upon the whole matter, one of theſe axioms communicates no knowledge but that which we muſt have before we can know the axiom, and the other may betray us into great error when we apply it to uſe, and action. One is unprofitable, the other dangerous; and the philoſophy, which admits them as principles of general knowledge, deſerves ill to be reputed philoſophy. It would have been juſt as

uſeful, and much more ſafe, to admit into this receptacle of axioms, thoſe ſelf-evident, and neceſſary truths alone, of which we have an immediate perception, ſince they are not confined to any ſpecial parts of ſcience, but are common to ſeveral, or to all. Thus theſe profitable axioms, What is, is; The whole is bigger than a part; and divers others, might ſerve to enlarge the ſpring-head of a firſt philoſophy, and be of excellent uſe in arguing ex praecognitis et praeconceſſis.

If you aſk me now, what I underſtand then by a firſt philoſophy? my anſwer will be ſuch as I ſuppoſe you already prepared to receive. I underſtand by a

firſt philoſophy, that which deſerves the firſt place on account of the dignity, and importance of it's objects, natural theology or theiſm, and natural religion or ethics. If we conſider the order of the ſciences in their riſe, and progreſs, the firſt place belongs to natural philoſophy, the mother of them all, or the trunk the tree of knowledge, out of which, and in proportion to which, like ſo many branches, they all grow. Theſe branches ſpread wide, and bear even fruits of different kinds. But the ſap that made them ſhoot, and makes them floriſh, riſes from the root through the trunk, and their productions are varied according to the variety of ſtrainers through

which

which it flows. In plain terms, I ſpeak not here of ſupernatural, or revealed, ſcience; and therefore, I ſay, that all ſcience, if it be real, muſt riſe from below, and from our own level. It cannot deſcend from above, nor from ſuperior ſyſtems of being and knowledge. Truth of exiſtence is truth of knowledge, and therefore reaſon ſearches after them in one of theſe ſcenes, where both are to be found together, and are within our reach; whilſt imagination hopes fondly to find them in another, where both of them are to be found, but ſurely not by us. The notices we receive from without concerning the beings that ſurround us, and the inward conſciouſneſs we have of

our own, are the foundations, and the true criterions too, of all the knowledge we acquire of body and of mind: and body and mind are objects alike of natural philoſophy. We aſſume commonly that they are two diſtinct ſubſtances. Be it ſo. They are ſtill united, and blended, as it were, together, in one human nature: and all natures, united or not, fall within the province of natural philoſophy. On the hypotheſis indeed that body and ſoul are two diſtinct ſubſtances, one of which ſubſiſts after the diſſolution of the other, certain men, who have taken the whimſical title of metaphyſicians, as if they had ſcience beyond the bounds of nature, or of nature diſcoverable by others,

have

have taken likewiſe to themſelves, the doctrine of mind; and have left that of body, under the name of phyſics, to a ſuppoſed inferior order of philoſophers. But the right of theſe ſtands good; for all the knowledge that can be acquired about mind, or the unextended ſubſtance of the Carteſians, muſt be acquired, like that about body, or the extended ſubſtance, within the bounds of their province, and by the means they employ, particular experiments and obſervations. Nothing can be true of mind, any more than of body, that is repugnant to theſe; and an intellectual hypotheſis, which is not ſupported by the intellectual phaenomena, is at leaſt as ridiculous, as a cor-

poreal hypotheſis which is not ſupported by the corporeal phaenomena.

If I have ſaid thus much in this place concerning natural philoſophy, it has not been without good reaſon. I conſider theology, and ethics as the firſt of ſciences in pre-eminence of rank. But I conſider the conſtant contemplation of nature, by which I mean the whole ſyſtem of God's works, as far as it lies open to us, as the common ſpring of all ſciences, and even of theſe. What has been ſaid, agreeably to this notion, ſeems to me evidently true; and yet metaphyſical divines and philoſophers proceed in direct contradiction to it, and have thereby,

by, if I miſtake not, bewildered themſelves, and a great part of mankind, in ſuch inextricable labyrinths of hypothetical reaſoning, that few men can find their way back, and none can find it forward into the road of truth. To dwell long, and on ſome points always, in particular knowledge, tires the patience of theſe impetuous philoſophers. They fly to generals. To conſider, attentively, even the minuteſt phaenomena of body and mind mortifies their pride. Rather than creep up ſlowly, à poſteriori, to a little general knowledge, they ſoar at once as far, and as high, as imagination can carry them. From thence they deſcend again, armed with ſyſtems and argu-

ments à priori; and, regardleſs how theſe agree, or claſh with the phaenomena of nature, they impoſe them on mankind.

It is this manner of philoſophiſing, this prepoſterous method of beginning our ſearch after truth out of the bounds of human knowledge, or of continuing it beyond them, that has corrupted natural theology, and natural religion in all ages. They have been corrupted to ſuch a degree, that it is grown, and was ſo long ſince, as neceſſary to plead the cauſe of God, if I may uſe this expreſſion after Seneca, againſt the divine, as againſt the atheiſt; to aſſert his exiſtence againſt the latter, to defend his attri-

attributes againſt the former, and to juſtify his providence againſt both. To both, a ſincere and humble theiſt might ſay very properly, "I make no difference "between you on many occaſi-"ons; becauſe it is indifferent * "whether you deny, or defame "the Supreme Being:" nay, PLUTARCH, tho little orthodox in theology, was not in the wrong, perhaps, when he declared the laſt to be the worſt.

IN treating the ſubjects about which I ſhall write to you in theſe letters, or eſſays, it will be therefore neceſſary to diſtinguiſh

* Utrum Deum neges an infames.

genuine

genuine and pure theiſm, from the unnatural, and profane mixtures of human imagination; what we can know of God, from what we cannot know. This is the more neceſſary too, becauſe, whilſt true and falſe notions about God and religion are blended together in our minds, under one ſpecious name of ſcience, the falſe are more likely to make men doubt of the true, as it often happens, than to perſuade men that they are true themſelves. Now in order to this purpoſe, nothing can be more effectual than to go to the root of error, of that primitive error which encourages our curioſity, ſuſtains our pride, fortifies our

preju-

prejudices, and gives pretence to deluſion. This primitive error conſiſts in the high opinion we are apt to entertain of the human mind, tho it holds, in truth, a very low rank in the intellectual ſyſtem. To cure this error, we need only turn our eyes inward, and contemplate impartially what paſſes there from the infancy to the maturity of the mind. Thus it will not be difficult, and thus alone it is poſſible, to diſcover the true nature of human knowledge, how far it extends, how far it is real, and where, and how it begins to be fantaſtical.

Such an enquiry, if it cannot check the preſumption, nor hum-

ble

ble the pride of metaphyſicians, may ſerve to undeceive others. LOCKE purſued it. He grounded all he taught on the phaenomena of nature. He appealed to the experience and conſcious knowledge of every one, and rendered all he advanced intelligible. LEIBNITZ, one of the vaineſt, and moſt chimerical men that ever got a name in philoſophy, and who is often ſo unintelligible, that no man ought to believe he underſtood himſelf, cenſured LOCKE as a ſuperficial philoſopher. What has happened? The philoſophy of one has forced it's way into general approbation: that of the other has carried no conviction, and ſcarce

any

any information to thoſe who have miſpent their time about it. To ſpeak the truth, tho it may ſeem a paradox, our knowledge on many ſubjects, and particularly on thoſe which we intend here, muſt be ſuperficial to be real. This is the condition of humanity. We are placed, as it were, in an intellectual twilight, where we diſcover but few things clearly, and none entirely, and yet ſee juſt enough to tempt us with the hope of making better and more diſcoveries. Thus flattered, men puſh their enquiries on, and may be properly enough compared to IXION, who "imagined he had JUNO in his arms "whilſt

"whilſt he embraced a cloud*."

To be contented to know things as God has made us capable of knowing them, is then a firſt principle neceſſary to ſecure us from falling into error; and if there is any ſubject upon which we ſhould be moſt on our guard againſt error, it is ſurely that which I have called here the firſt philoſophy. God is hid from us in the majeſty of his nature, and the little we diſcover of him, muſt be diſcovered by the light that is reflected from his works. Out of this light, therefore, we ſhould never go in our

* Lord BACON.

enqui-

enquiries and reaſonings about his nature, his attributes, and the order of his providence: and yet upon theſe ſubjects, men depart the furtheſt from it; nay, they who depart the furtheſt are the beſt-heard by the bulk of mankind. The leſs men know, the more they believe that they know. Belief paſſes in their minds for knowledge: and the very circumſtances, which ſhould beget doubt, produce increaſe of faith. Every glittering apparition, that is pointed out to them in the vaſt wild of imagination, paſſes for a reality: and the more diſtant, the more confuſed, the more incomprehenſible it is, the more ſublime it is eſteemed.

He who ſhould attempt to ſhift theſe ſcenes of airy viſion, for thoſe of real knowledge, might expect to be treated with ſcorn and anger, by the whole theological and metaphyſical tribe, the maſters and the ſcholars. He would be deſpiſed as a plebeian philoſopher, and railed at as an infidel. It would be founded high, that he debaſed human nature, which has a cognation, ſo the reverend and learned doctor CUDWORTH calls it, with the divine; that the ſoul of man, immaterial and immortal by it's nature, was made to contemplate higher and nobler objects, than this ſenſible world, and even than itſelf, ſince it was made to

contemplate God, and to be united to him. In ſuch clamor as this, the voice of truth and of reaſon would be drowned; and, with both of them on his ſide, he who oppoſed it would make many enemies, and few converts. Nay, I am apt to think that ſome of theſe, if he made any, would ſay to him, as ſoon as the gaudy viſions of error were diſpelled, and till they were accuſtomed to the ſimplicity of truth, "Pol me occidiſtis." Prudence forbids me, therefore, to write as I think to the world, whilſt friendſhip forbids me to write otherwiſe to you. I have been a martyr of faction in politics, and have no vocation to be ſo in philoſophy.

BUT there is another conſideration which deſerves more regard, becauſe it is of a public nature, and becauſe the common intereſts of ſociety may be affected by it. Truth and falſhood, knowledge and ignorance, revelations of the Creator, inventions of the creature, dictates of reaſon, ſallies of enthuſiaſm, have been blended ſo long together in our ſyſtems of theology, that it may be thought dangerous to ſeparate them; leſt by attacking ſome parts of theſe ſyſtems we ſhould ſhake the whole. It may be thought that error, itſelf, deſerves to be reſpected on this account, and that men, who are deluded for their good, ſhould be deluded on.

SOME ſuch reflections as theſe it is probable that ERASMUS made when he obſerved, in one of his letters to MELANCTHON, that PLATO, dreaming of a philoſophical commonwealth, ſaw the impoſſibility of governing the multitude without deceiving them. "Let not chriſtians lye," ſays this great divine: "but "let it not be thought neither, "that every truth ought to be "thrown out to the vulgar. "Non expedit omnem veri-"tatem prodere vulgo." SCAEVOLA and VARRO were more explicit than ERASMUS, and more reaſonable than PLATO. They held not only that many truths were to be concealed from the vulgar, but that it was expe-

dient the vulgar ſhould believe many things that were falſe. They diſtinguiſhed at the ſame time very rightly, between the regard due to religions already eſtabliſhed, and the conduct to be held in the eſtabliſhment of them. The Greek aſſumed, that men could not be governed by truth, and erected on this principle a fabulous theology. The Romans were not of the ſame opinion. VARRO declared expreſsly, that if he had been to frame a new inſtitution, he would have framed it "ex na-"turae potius formula." But they both thought that things evidently falſe might deſerve an outward reſpect, when they are interwoven into a ſyſtem of go-

government. This outward reſpect every good citizen will ſhew them in ſuch a caſe, and they can claim no more in any. He will not propagate theſe errors, but he will be cautious how he propagates even truth, in oppoſition to them.

THERE has been much noiſe made about free thinking; and men have been animated, in the conteſt, by a ſpirit that becomes neither the character of divines, nor that of good citizens; by an arbitrary tyrannical ſpirit under the maſk of religious zeal, and by a preſumptuous, factious ſpirit under that of liberty. If the firſt could prevail, they would eſtabliſh im-

plicit belief and blind obedience, and an inquiſition to maintain this abject ſervitude. To aſſert antipodes might become once more as heretical as arianiſm, or pelagianiſm: and men might be dragged to the jails of ſome holy office, like GALILEI, for ſaying they had ſeen what in fact they had ſeen, and what every one elſe that pleaſed might ſee. If the ſecond could prevail, they would deſtroy at once the general influence of religion, by ſhaking the foundations of it which education had laid. Theſe are wide extremes. Is there no middle path, in which a reaſonable man and a good citizen may direct his ſteps? I think there is.

EVERY

EVERY one has an undoubted right to think freely: nay, it is the duty of every one to do ſo, as far as he has the neceſſary means, and opportunities. This duty too is in no caſe ſo incumbent on him, as in thoſe that regard what [illegible] the firſt philoſophy. They who have neither means nor opportunities of this ſort, muſt ſubmit their opinions to authority: and to what authority can they reſign themſelves ſo properly, and ſo ſafely, as to that of the laws, and conſtitution of their country? In general nothing can be more abſurd than to take opinions of the greateſt moment, and ſuch as concern us the moſt intimately, on truſt. But there

is no help againſt it in many particular caſes. Things the moſt abſurd in ſpeculation become neceſſary in practice. Such is the human conſtitution, and reaſon excuſes them on the account of this neceſſity. Reaſon does even a little more; and it is all ſhe can do. She gives the beſt direction poſſible to the abſurdity. Thus ſhe directs thoſe, who muſt believe becauſe they cannot know, to believe in the laws of their country, and conform their opinions and practice to thoſe of their anceſtors, to thoſe of CORUNCANUS, of SCIPIO, of SCÆVOLA, not to thoſe of ZENO, of CLEANTHES, of CHRYSIPPUS *.

* De nat. deor.

BUT now the ſame reaſon, that gives this direction to ſuch men as theſe, will give a very contrary direction to thoſe who have the means and opportunities the others want. Far from adviſing them to ſubmit to this mental bondage, ſhe will adviſe them to employ their whole induſtry, to exert the utmoſt freedom of thought, and to reſt on no authority but her's, that is, their own. She will ſpeak to them in the language of the Soufys, a ſect of philoſophers in Perſia, that travellers have mentioned. "Doubt," ſay theſe wiſe and honeſt free-thinkers, "is the key of know-"ledge. He who never doubts, "never examines. He who ne-

"ver

" ver examines, diſcovers no-
" thing. He who diſcovers no-
" thing, is blind, and will re-
" main ſo. If you find no rea-
" ſon to doubt concerning the
" opinions of your fathers, keep
" to them, they will be ſuffi-
" cient for you. If you find
" any reaſon to doubt concern-
" ing them, ſeek the truth
" quietly, but take care not to
" diſturb the minds of other
" men."

LET us proceed agreeably to theſe maxims. Let us ſeek truth, but ſeek it quietly as well as freely. Let us not imagine, like ſome who are called free-thinkers, that every man, who can think and judge for himſelf,

ſelf, as he has a right to do, has therefore a right of ſpeaking, any more than of acting according to the full freedom of his thoughts. The freedom belongs to him as a rational creature: He lies under the reſtraint as a member of ſociety.

If the religion we profeſs contained nothing more than articles of faith, and points of doctrine clearly revealed to us in the goſpel, we might be obliged to renounce our natural freedom of thought in favor of this ſupernatural authority. But ſince it is notorious that a certain order of men, who call themſelves the church, have been employed to make and propagate a the-

a theological ſyſtem of their own, which they call chriſtianity, from the days of the apoſtles, and even from theſe days incluſively; it is our duty to examine, and analyſe the whole, that we may diſtinguiſh what is divine from what is human; adhere to the firſt implicitly, and aſcribe to the laſt no more authority than the word of man deſerves.

SUCH an examination is the more neceſſary to be undertaken by every one who is concerned for the truth of his religion, and for the honor of chriſtianity, becauſe the firſt preachers of it were not, and they who preach it ſtill are not, agreed about many of the

the moſt important points of their ſyſtem; becauſe the controverſies raiſed by theſe men have baniſhed union, peace, and charity out of the chriſtian world; and becauſe ſome parts of the ſyſtem ſavour ſo much of ſuperſtition, and enthuſiaſm, that all the prejudices of education, and the whole weight of civil and eccleſiaſtical power can hardly keep them in credit. Theſe conſiderations deſerve the more attention, becauſe nothing can be more true, than what PLUTARCH ſaid of old, and my lord BACON has ſaid ſince; one, that ſuperſtition, and the other, that vain controverſies are principal cauſes of atheiſm:

I NEI-

I NEITHER expect nor deſire to ſee any public reviſion made of the preſent ſyſtem of chriſtianity. I ſhould fear an attempt to alter the eſtabliſhed religion as much, as they who have the moſt bigot attachment to it, and for reaſons as good as theirs, tho not entirely the ſame. I ſpeak only of the duty of every private man to examine for himſelf, which would have an immediate good effect relatively to himſelf, and might have in time a good effect relatively to the public, ſince it would diſpoſe the minds of men to a greater indifference about theological diſputes, which are the diſgrace of chriſtianity and have been the plagues of the world.

WILL.

WILL you tell me that private judgment muſt ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed authority of fathers and councils? My anſwer ſhall be, that the fathers, antient and modern, in councils, and out of them, have raiſed that immenſe ſyſtem of artificial theology, by which genuine chriſtianity is perverted, and in which it is loſt. Theſe fathers are fathers of the worſt ſort, ſuch as contrive to keep their children in a perpetual ſtate of infancy, that they may exerciſe perpetual, and abſolute dominion over them. "Quo "magis regnum in illos exer- "ceant pro ſua libidine *." I call their theology artificial, be-

cauſe

cauſe it is in a multitude of inſtances conformable neither to the religion of nature, nor to goſpel chriſtianity, but often repugnant to both, tho ſaid to be founded on them. I ſhall have occaſion to mention ſeveral ſuch inſtances in the courſe of theſe little eſſays. Here I will only obſerve, that if it be hard to conceive how any thing ſo abſurd, as the pagan theology ſtands repreſented by the fathers who wrote againſt it, and as it really was, could ever gain credit among rational creatures, it is full as hard to conceive how the artificial theology we ſpeak of could ever prevail, not only in ages of ignorance, but in the

moſt enlightened. There is a letter of St. Auſtin, wherein he ſays*, that he was aſhamed of himſelf when he refuted the opinions of the former, and that he was aſhamed of mankind when he conſidered that ſuch abſurdities were received, and defended. The reflections might be retorted on the ſaint, ſince he broached, and defended doctrines as unworthy of the ſupreme all-perfect Being, as thoſe which the heathens taught concerning their fictitious and inferior gods. Is it neceſſary to quote any other than that, by which we are taught to fear God

* ——jam pudet ridicula refellere, cum eos non puduerit ita fingere. Cum vero ſint etiam defendere, &c.

has created numbers of men for no purpoſe, but to damn them? "Quiſquis praedeſtina-
"tionis doctrinam invidia gra-
"vat," ſays CALVIN, "aperte
"maledicit Deo†." Let us ſay, "Quiſquis praedeſtinationis do-
"ctrinam aſſerit, blaſphemat." Let us not impute ſuch cruel injuſtice to the all-perfect Being. Let AUSTIN, and CALVIN, and all thoſe who teach it, be anſwerable for it alone. You may bring fathers and councils as evidences in the cauſe of artificial theology: but reaſon muſt be the judge; and all I contend for is, that ſhe ſhould be ſo in the breaſt of every chriſtian that can appeal to her tribunal.

† CAL. Inſ. Lib. iii. c. 21.

Will you tell me that even ſuch a private examination of the chriſtian ſyſtem, as I propoſe that every man, who is able to make it, ſhould make for himſelf, is unlawful; and that, if any doubts ariſe in our minds concerning religion, we muſt have recourſe for the ſolution of them to ſome of that holy order, which was inſtituted by God himſelf, and which has been continued by the impoſition of hands in every chriſtian ſociety, from the apoſtles down to the preſent clergy? My anſwer ſhall be ſhortly this, it is repugnant to all the ideas of wiſdom and goodneſs to believe that the univerſal terms of ſalvation are knowable by

the means of one order of men alone, and that they continue to be so even after they have been published to all nations. Some of your directors will tell you, that whilst CHRIST was on earth, the apostles were the church; that he was the bishop of it; that afterwards the admission of men into this order was approved, and confirmed by visions and other divine manifestations; and that these wonderful proofs of God's interposition at the ordinations, and consecrations of presbyters, and bishops, lasted even in the time of St. CYPRIAN, that is, in the middle of the third century. It is pity that they lasted no longer, for the ho-

nor of the church, and for the conviction of thoſe who do not ſufficiently reverence the religious ſociety. It were to be wiſhed perhaps, that ſome of the ſecrets of electricity were improved enough to be piouſly, and uſefully applied to this purpoſe. If we beheld a ſhecinah, or divine preſence, like the flame of a taper, on the heads of thoſe who receive the impoſition of hands, we might believe that they receive the Holy Ghoſt at the ſame time. But as we have no reaſon to believe what ſuperſtitious, credulous, or lying men, ſuch as CYPRIAN, himſelf was, reported formerly, that they might eſtabliſh the proud pretenſions

of the clergy; ſo we have no reaſon to believe that five men of this order have any more of the divine Spirit in our time, after they are ordained, than they had before. It would be a farce to provoke laughter, if there was no ſuſpicion of profanation in it, to ſee them gravely lay hands on one another, and bid one another receive the Holy Ghoſt.

WILL you tell me finally, in oppoſition to what has been ſaid, and that you may anticipate what remains to be ſaid, that laymen are not only unauthoriſed, but quite unequal, without the aſſiſtance of divines, to the taſk I propoſe? If you do

I ſhall

I ſhall make no ſcruple to tell you, in return, that laymen may be, if they pleaſe, in every reſpect as fit, and are in one important reſpect more fit, than divines, to go through this examination, and to judge for themſelves upon it. We ſay that the ſcriptures, concerning the divine authenticity of which all the profeſſors of chriſtianity agree, are the ſole criterion of chriſtianity. You add tradition, concerning which there may be, and there is much diſpute. We have then a certain invariable rule, whenever the ſcriptures ſpeak plainly. Whenever they do not ſpeak ſo, we have this comfortable aſſurance, that doctrines, which no body

underſtands, are revealed to no body, and are therefore improper objects of human inquiry. We know too, that if we receive the explanations and commentaries of theſe dark ſayings from the clergy, we take the greateſt part of our religion from the word of man, not from the word of God. Tradition indeed, however derived, is not to be totally rejected; for, if it was, how came the canon of the ſcriptures, even of the goſpels, to be fixed? How was it conveyed down to us? Traditions of general facts, and general propoſitions plain and uniform, may be of ſome authority and uſe. But particular, anecdotical traditions

ditions, whoſe original authority is unknown, or juſtly ſuſpicious, and that have acquired only an appearance of generality, and notoriety, becauſe they have been frequently, and boldly repeated from age to age, deſerve no more regard, than doctrines evidently added to the ſcriptures, under pretence of explaining, and commenting them, by men as fallible as ourſelves. We may receive the ſcriptures, and be perſuaded of their authenticity on the faith of eccleſiaſtical tradition: but it ſeems to me, that we may reject, at the ſame time, all the artificial theology which has been raiſed on theſe ſcriptures by doctors of the church, with

as much right, as they receive the Old Teſtament on the authority of jewiſh ſcribes and doctors, whilſt they reject the oral law, and all rabinical literature.

He who examines on ſuch principles as theſe, which are conformable to truth and reaſon, may lay aſide at once the immenſe volumes of fathers, and councils, of ſchoolmen, caſuiſts, and controverſial writers, which have perplexed the world ſo long. Natural religion will be to ſuch a man no longer intricate; revealed religion will be no longer myſterious, nor the word of God equivocal. Clearneſs and preciſion

ciſion are two great excellencies of human laws. How much more ſhould we expect to find them in the law of God? They have been baniſhed from thence by artificial theology; and he who is deſirous to find them muſt baniſh the profeſſors of it from his councils, inſtead of conſulting them. He muſt ſeek for genuine chriſtianity with that ſimplicity of ſpirit, with which it is taught in the goſpel by CHRIST himſelf. He muſt do the very reverſe of what has been done by the perſons you adviſe him to conſult.

You ſee that I have ſaid what has been ſaid, on a ſuppoſi-

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tion, that, however obſcure theology may be, the chriſtian religion is extremely plain, and requires no great learning, nor deep meditation to develope it. But, if it was not ſo plain, if both theſe were neceſſary to develope it, is great learning the monopoly of the clergy ſince the reſurrection of letters, as a little learning was before that æra? Is deep meditation, and juſtneſs of reaſoning confined to men of that order by a peculiar and excluſive privilege? In ſhort, and to aſk a queſtion which experience will decide, have theſe men, who boaſt that they are appointed by God "to "be the interpreters of his ſe-"cret will, to repreſent his

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"perſon, and to anſwer in his "name, as it were, out of the "ſanctuary*;" have theſe men, I ſay, been able, in more than ſeventeen centuries, to eſtabliſh an uniform ſyſtem of revealed religion, for natural religion never wanted their help, among the civil ſocieties of chriſtians, or even in their own? They do not ſeem to have aimed at this deſirable end. Divided as they have always been, they have always ſtudied in order to believe §, and to take upon truſt, or to find matter of diſcourſe,

* CAL Inſ. L iv. c. 3.

N.B. I chuſe to borrow theſe expreſſions from CALVIN, in order to ſhew how much they aſcribe, who are ſuppoſed to aſcribe the leaſt, to this order.

§ BACON's Eſſays.

or to contradict and confute; but never to conſider impartially, nor to uſe a free judgment. On the contrary, they who have attempted to uſe this freedom of judgment have been conſtantly, and cruelly perſecuted by them.

THE firſt ſteps towards the eſtabliſhment of artificial theology, which has paſſed for chriſtianity ever ſince, were enthuſiaſtical. They were not heretics alone, who delighted in wild allegories, and the pompous jargon of myſtery: they were the orthodox fathers of the firſt ages; they were the diſciples of the apoſtles, or the ſcholars of their diſciples: for the

the truth of which I may appeal to the epiſtles, and other writings of theſe men that are extant, to thoſe of CLEMENS, of IGNATIUS, or of IRENAEUS, for inſtance; and to the viſions of HERMES, that have ſo near a reſemblance to the productions of BUNYAN.

THE next ſteps of the ſame kind were rhetorical. They were made by men who declaimed much, and reaſoned ill, but who impoſed on the imaginations of others by the heat of their own, by their hyperboles, their exaggerations, the acrimony of their ſtyle, and their violent invectives. Such were the CHRYSOSTOMS the JEROMS,

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an HILARIUS, a CYRIL, and moſt of the fathers.

THE laſt of the ſteps I ſhall mention were logical: and theſe were made very opportunely, and very advantageouſly for the church, and for artificial theology. Abſurdity in ſpeculation, and ſuperſtition in practice, had been cultivated ſo long, and were become ſo groſs, that men began to ſee through the veils that had been thrown over them, as ignorant as thoſe ages were. Then the ſchoolmen aroſe. I need not diſplay their character, it is enough known. This only I will ſay, that, having very few materials of knowledge, and much ſub-

ſubtilty of wit, they wrought up ſyſtems of fancy on the little they knew; and invented an art, by the help of ARISTOTLE, not of enlarging, but of puzzling knowledge with technical terms, with definitions, diſtinctions, and ſyllogiſms merely verbal: they taught what they could not explain; evaded what they could not anſwer; and he who had the moſt ſkill in this art might put to ſilence, when it came into general uſe, the man who was conſciouſly certain that he had truth and reaſon on his ſide.

THE authority of the ſchools laſted till the reſurrection of letters. But as ſoon as real know-

ledge was enlarged, and the conduct of the underſtanding better underſtood, it fell into contempt. The advocates of artificial theology have had, ſince that time, a very hard taſk. They have been obliged to defend in the light what was impoſed in the dark, and to acquire knowledge to juſtify ignorance. They were drawn to it with reluctancy. But learning, that grew up among the laity, and controverſies with one another, made this unavoidable, which was not eligible on the principles of eccleſiaſtical policy. They have done, with theſe new arms, all that great parts, great pains, and great zeal could do under ſuch diſadvantages; and

we may apply to this order, on this occaſion, "Si Pergama dextrâ," etc. But their Troy cannot be defended; irreparable breaches have been made in it. They have improved in learning and knowledge: but this improvement has been general, and as remarkable at leaſt among the laity, as among the clergy. Beſides which, it muſt be owned that the former have had in this reſpect a ſort of indirect obligation to the latter; for, whilſt theſe men have ſearched into antiquity, have improved criticiſm, and almoſt exhauſted ſubtilty, they have furniſhed ſo many arms the more to ſuch of the others, as do not ſubmit implicitly to them, but

examine and judge for themſelves. By refuting one another when they differ, they have made it no hard matter to refute them all when they agree: and, I believe, there are few books written to propagate, or defend the received notions of artificial theology, which may not be refuted by the books themſelves. I conclude on the whole, that laymen have, or need to have, no want of the clergy in examining and analyſing the religion they profeſs.

But I ſaid that they are in one important reſpect more fit to go through this examination without the help of divines, than with it. A layman, who

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ſeeks the truth, may fall into error: but as he can have no intereſt to deceive himſelf, ſo he has none of profeſſion to bias his private judgment, any more than to engage him to deceive others. Now the clergyman lies ſtrongly under this influence in every communion. How indeed ſhould it be otherwiſe? Theology is become one of thoſe ſciences which SENECA calls "ſcientiae in lucrum exeuntes:" and ſciences, like arts, whoſe object is gain, are, in good Engliſh, trades. Such theology is: and men who could make no fortune, except the loweſt, in any other, make often the higheſt in this: for the proof of which aſſertion I might pro-

duce ſome ſignal inſtances among my lords the biſhops. The conſequence has been uniform; for how ready ſoever the tradeſmen of one church are to expoſe the falſe wares, that is, the errors, and abuſes of another, they never admit that there are any in their own: and he who admitted this, in ſome particular inſtance, would be driven out of the eccleſiaſtical company, as a falſe brother, and one who ſpoiled the trade.

THUS it comes to paſs that new churches may be eſtabliſhed by the diſſentions, but that old ones cannot be reformed by the concurrence, of the clergy. There is no compoſition

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to be made with this order of men. He, who does not believe all they teach in every communion, is reputed nearly as criminal, as he who believes no part of it. He who cannot aſſent to the athanaſian creed, of which archbiſhop TILLOTSON ſaid, as I have heard, that he wiſhed we were well rid, would receive no better quarter, than an atheiſt, from the generality of the clergy. What recourſe now has a man who cannot be thus implicit? Some have run into ſcepticiſm, ſome into atheiſm, and, for fear of being impoſed on by others; have impoſed on themſelves. The way to avoid theſe extremes is that, which has been chalked out in

this introduction. We may think freely, without thinking as licentiously as divines do when they raise a system of imagination on true foundations; or as sceptics do when they renounce all knowledge; or as atheists do when they attempt to demolish the foundations of all religion, and reject demonstration. As we think for ourselves, we may keep our thoughts to ourselves, or communicate them with a due reserve, and in such a manner only, as it may be done without offending the laws of our country, and disturbing the public peace.

I CANNOT conclude my discourse on this occasion better, than

than by putting you in mind of a paſſage you quoted to me once, with great applauſe, from a ſermon of FOSTER, and to this effect: "Where myſtery "begins, religion ends." The apophthegm pleaſed me much: and I was glad to hear ſuch a truth from any pulpit, ſince it ſhews an inclination, at leaſt, to purify chriſtianity from the leaven of artificial theology, which conſiſts principally in making things, that are very plain, myſterious; and in pretending to make things, that are impenetrably myſterious, very plain. If you continue ſtill of the ſame mind, I ſhall have no excuſe to make to you for what I have written, and ſhall write. Our opinions

opinions coincide. If you have changed your mind, think again, and examine further. You will find that it is the modeſt, not the preſumptuous enquirer, who makes a real, and ſafe progreſs in the diſcovery of divine truths. One follows nature, and nature's God, that is, he follows God in his works, and in his word; nor preſumes to go further, by metaphyſical and theological commentaries of his own invention, than the two texts, if I may uſe this expreſſion, carry him very evidently. They who have done otherwiſe, and have affected to diſcover, by a ſuppoſed ſcience derived from tradition, or taught in the ſchools, more, than they

who

who have not ſuch ſcience can diſcover, concerning the nature, phyſical and moral, of the Supreme Being, and concerning the ſecrets of his providence, have been either enthuſiaſts, or knaves, or elſe of that numerous tribe who reaſon well very often; but reaſon always on ſome arbitrary ſuppoſition.

MUCH of this character belonged to the heathen divines; and it is, in all it's parts, peculiarly that of the antient fathers, and modern doctors of the chriſtian church. The former had reaſon, but no revelation, to guide them; and tho reaſon be always one, we cannot wonder that different prejudices, and different tempers

tempers of imagination warped it in them, on ſuch ſubjects as theſe, and produced all the extravagancies of their theology. The latter had not the excuſe of human frailty to make in mitigation of their preſumption. On the contrary, the conſideration of this frailty, inſeparable from their nature, aggravated their preſumption. They had a much ſurer criterion, than human reaſon; they had divine reaſon, and the word of God to guide them, and to limit their enquiries. How came they to go beyond this criterion? Many of the firſt preachers were led into it becauſe they preached or writ before there was any ſuch criterion eſtabliſh-

ed, in the acceptance of which they all agreed; becauſe they preached or writ, in the mean time, on the faith of tradition, and on a confidence that they were perſons extraordinarily gifted. Other reaſons ſucceeded theſe. Skill in languages, not the gift of tongues, ſome knowledge of the jewiſh cabala, and ſome of heathen philoſophy, of PLATO's eſpecially, made them preſume to comment, and under that pretence to enlarge the ſyſtem of chriſtianity, with as much licenſe, as they could have taken if the word of man, inſtead of the word of God, had been concerned, and they had commented the civil, not the divine law. They did this ſo copiouſly,

copiouſly, that, to give one inſtance of it, the expoſition of St. MATTHEW's goſpel took up ninety homelies, and that of St. JOHN's eighty ſeven, in the works of CHRYSOSTOM: which puts me in mind of a puritanical parſon *, who, if I miſtake not, for I have never looked into the folio ſince I was a boy and condemned ſometimes to read in it, made one hundred and nineteen ſermons on the hundred and nineteenth pſalm.

Now all theſe men, both heathens and chriſtians, appeared gigantic forms through the falſe medium of imagination, and

* Dr. MANTON.

habitual

habitual prejudice; but were, in truth, as arrant dwarfs in the knowledge to which they pretended, as you and I and all the ſons of ADAM. The former, however, deſerved ſome excuſe; the latter none. The former made a very ill uſe of their reaſon, no doubt, when they preſume to dogmatiſe about the divine nature; but they deceived no body. What they taught, they taught on their own authority, which every other man was at liberty to receive, or reject, as he approved or diſapproved the doctrine. Chriſtians, on the other hand, made a very ill uſe of revelation and reaſon both. Inſtead of employing the ſuperior princi-

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ple to direct and confine the inferior, they employed it to ſanctify all, that wild imagination, the paſſions, and the intereſts of the eccleſiaſtical order ſuggeſted. This abuſe of revelation was ſo ſcandalous, that whilſt they were building up a ſyſtem of religion, under the name of chriſtianity, every one, who ſought to ſignaliſe himſelf in the enterpriſe, and they were multitudes, dragged the ſcriptures to his opinion by different interpretations, paraphraſes, comments. ARIUS and NESTORIUS, both pretended that they had it on their ſides: ATHANASIUS and CYRIL on theirs. They rendered the word of God ſo dubious, that it ceaſed

to be a criterion; and they had recourſe to another, to councils and the decrees of councils. He muſt be very ignorant in eccleſiaſtical antiquity, who does not know by what intrigues of the contending factions, for ſuch they were, and of the worſt kind, theſe decrees were obtained: and yet, an opinion prevailing that the Holy Ghoſt, the ſame divine ſpirit who dictated the ſcriptures, preſided in theſe aſſemblies and dictated their decrees, their decrees paſſed for infallible deciſions; and ſanctified; little by little, much of the ſuperſtition, the nonſenſe, and even the blaſphemy, which the fathers taught, and all the uſurpations of the church. This

opinion prevailed, and influenced the minds of men ſo powerfully, and ſo long, that ERASMUS, who owns, in one of his letters, that the writings of OECOLAMPADIUS againſt tranſubſtantiation ſeemed ſufficient to ſeduce even the elect, "ut ſeduci "poſſe videantur etiam electi," declares in another, that nothing hindered him from embracing the doctrine of OECOLAMPADIUS, but the conſent of the church to the other doctrine; "niſi "obſtaret conſenſus eccleſiae." Thus artificial theology roſe on the demolitions, not on the foundations, of chriſtianity; was incorporated into it, and became a principal part of it. How much it becomes a good chriſtian,

ſtian to diſtinguiſh them, in his private thoughts at leaſt, and how unfit even the greateſt, the moſt moderate, and the leaſt ambitious of the eccleſiaſtical order are to aſſiſt us in making this diſtinction, I have endeavoured to ſhew you by reaſon, and by example.

IT remains then, that we apply ourſelves to the ſtudy of the firſt philoſophy without any other guides, than the works, and the word of God. In natural religion the clergy are unneceſſary, in revealed they are dangerous guides.

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